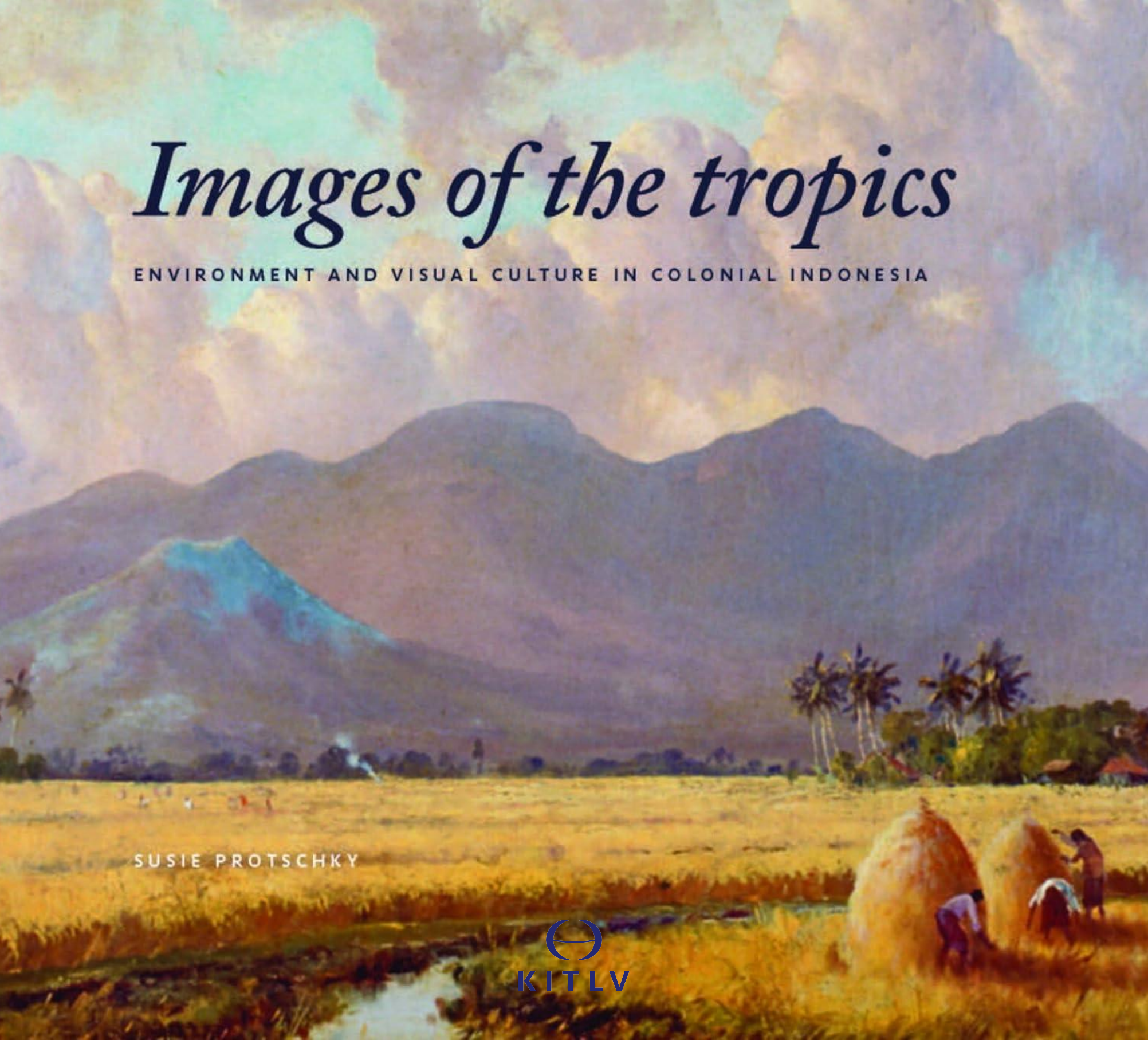
# *Images of the tropics*

ENVIRONMENT AND VISUAL CULTURE IN COLONIAL INDONESIA



SUSIE PROTSCHKY

KITLV

KITLV

*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
*Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

# IMAGES OF THE TROPICS

SUSIE PROTSCHKY

# Images of the tropics

## Environment and visual culture in colonial Indonesia

KITLV Press Leiden 2011

KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSE
AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN

VERHANDELINGEN
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE · 270

KITLV Press
Koninklijk Instituut
voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
*www.kitlv.nl*
*kitlvpress@kitlv.nl*

The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) is an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)

ISBN 978 90 6718 368 0

Copyright © 2011 Koninklijk Instituut
voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
*No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the copyright owner.*

Designed by Hans Stol

Printed in the Netherlands by Èpos Press

# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 7

INTRODUCTION *Environment and visual culture in the Netherlands Indies* 9

1 Historicizing colonialism *The legacy of images made during the East India Company period in Dutch ways of seeing* 23

2 Narratives of expansion *Colonial landscape images and empire building* 51

3 Naturalizing conquest *Rural idylls in colonial painting* 73

4 Articles of faith *Religion, fear and fantasy in Indies landscapes* 103

5 Seductions of the tropics *Race, class and gender in colonial images of nature and landscape* 127

CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE *Landscape, visual culture and colonial history* 145

BIBLIOGRAPHY 155

LIST OF FIGURES 171

INDEX 175

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

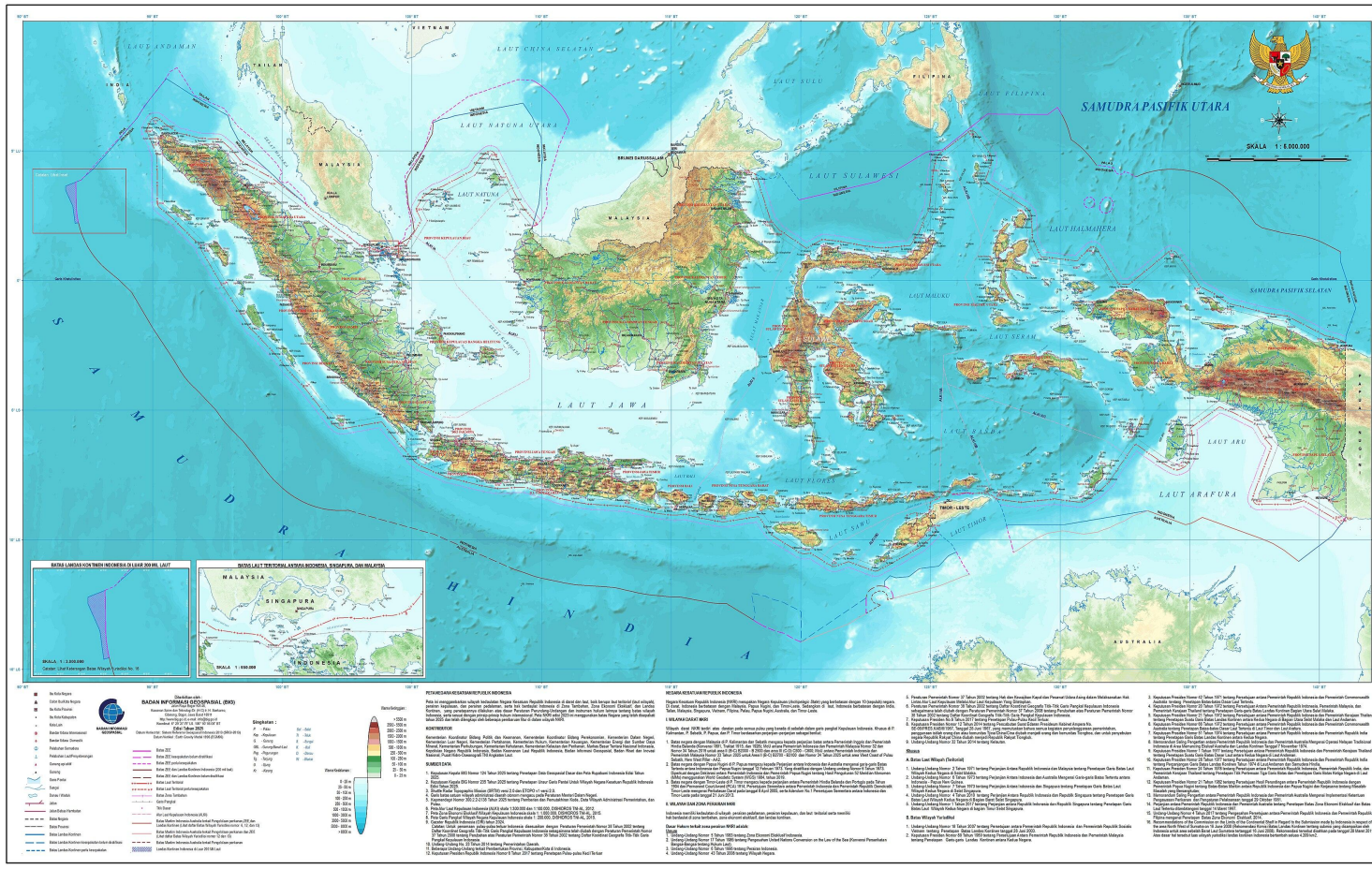
Researching this book has been a peripatetic project, one that took me to the middle and both ends of the earth's surface: from Sydney, Australia, where I grew up, to the dissimilar landscapes of the Netherlands and Indonesia, where the images and histories that I was thinking about assumed vivid form. Writing this book also, unexpectedly, involved journeys: an arc that swung from eastern Australia westwards to Perth and back again to Melbourne, where the pendulum rests. I have accumulated a long list of debts over these peregrinations that I now take great pleasure in acknowledging.

I remain grateful to Jean Gelman Taylor for her supervision of my doctoral research, and for all that I learned from her when this book began, in 2002, as a PhD thesis at the University of New South Wales (Sydney). At the University of Western Australia (UWA), where I took up a lectureship in history in 2008, the passed thesis was completely dismantled, substantially culled, further researched, and rewritten. I could not have done this without the help of the splendid people who were my colleagues there. My warmest thanks to the stalwarts who, between them, read and commented on most of the book: Rob Stuart, Mark Edele, Philippa Maddern, Stephanie Tarbin and Carolyn Polizzotto; as well as Susan Broomhall, David Barrie, Ethan Blue, and Richard Bosworth. The remaining flaws are my own to claim.

I have been fortunate to receive funding toward the completion of this book. I must first acknowledge UWA for awarding me an Early Career Researcher's Publication Grant in 2009, and secondly thank the School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies at Monash University (Melbourne), where I am now employed, for financing the reproduction of the book's images in 2010. I am grateful to staff at the following institutions for providing images for the book: in Leiden, KITLV Library and Special Collections (particularly Liesbeth Ouwehand), and Museum Volkenkunde; in Amsterdam, KIT Tropenmuseum (especially Ingeborg Eggink), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, and the Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum; in The Hague, the Nationaal Archief; in London, the British Library and the Horniman Museum; and in Paris, the Musée du Louvre. Magnum Photos and Yu-Chee Chong Fine Art (London) also kindly provided images. Finally, many thanks to Kees Waterman and Tom van den Berge at the KITLV Press for the many hours that they, together with Hans Stol, put into producing the book. I'm particularly grateful to Hans for his thoughtful work in designing *Images of the Tropics*.

This book and I have been lucky to have a good companion on our journeys, not just on research trips to the Netherlands, but also from the east to the west coast of Australia and back. My husband, Tyrone, has been my greatest joy and support on these travels. My deepest thanks are to him.

# NEGARA KESATUAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA




Sistem Koordinat WGS

**BADAN INFORMASI GEOSPASIAL (BIG)**

Alamat Kantor: Jl. Raya Jakarta-Bogor Km 46, Cibinong, Bogor, Jawa Barat 16911
http://www.big.go.id, e-mail: info@big.go.id
Telepon: (021) 8754 0401, Faksimile: (021) 8754 0737

Edisi Tahun 2020

Datum Acuan Horisontal : Sistem Referensi Geospasial Indonesia 2013 (SRGI 2013)
Datum Acuan Vertikal : Earth Gravity Model 2008 (EGM08)

**Singkatan :**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| P. | Pulau | Bat. | Batuan |
| Kep. | Kepulauan | S. | Sungai |
| G. | Gunung | A. | Anjungan |
| Mt. | Gunung/Bukit/Lesi | K. | Kali |
| Pg. | Pegunungan | D. | Danau |
| Tg. | Tanjung | W. | Waduk |
| T. | Teluk | | |
| Kr. | Karang | | |

Rona Kedalaman :

| | |
|---|---|
| 0 - 20 m | |
| 20 - 50 m | |
| 50 - 100 m | |
| 100 - 200 m | |
| 200 - 500 m | |
| 500 - 1000 m | |
| 1000 - 2000 m | |
| 2000 - 3000 m | |
| 3000 - 4000 m | |
| > 4000 m | |

Rona Ketinggian :

| |
|---|
| > 3000 m |
| 2000 - 3000 m |
| 1000 - 2000 m |
| 500 - 1000 m |
| 200 - 500 m |
| 100 - 200 m |
| 50 - 100 m |
| 20 - 50 m |
| 0 - 20 m |

**PETA RUPA BUMI NEGARA KESATUAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

Peta ini menggambarkan wilayah kedaulatan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia di darat dan laut, baik berupa laut teritorial (laut wilayah), perairan kepulauan, dan perairan pedalaman, serta hak berdaulat Indonesia di Zona Tambahan, Zona Ekonomi Eksklusif, dan Landas Kontinen, yang ditetapkan berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 43 Tahun 2008 tentang Wilayah Negara dan Undang-Undang Nomor 32 Tahun 2014 tentang Kelautan, serta sesuai dengan prinsip-prinsip hukum internasional. Peta NKRI edisi 2020 ini menggambarkan batas Negara yang telah disepakati tahun 2020 dan telah ditinggikan oleh beberapa perubahan dan fitur di dalam wilayah NKRI.

**KONTRIBUTOR**

Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Politik dan Keamanan, Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Perekonomian, Kementerian Dalam Negeri, Kementerian Luar Negeri, Kementerian Pertahanan, Kementerian Hukum, Kementerian Keuangan, Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, Kementerian Perhubungan, Kementerian Kelautan, Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan, Markas Besar Tentara Nasional Indonesia, Markas Besar Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Laut Republik Indonesia, Badan Informasi Geospasial, Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional, Pusat Hidro Oseanografi TNI Angkatan Laut.

**SUMBER DATA**

1. Keputusan Kepala KKI Nomor 124 Tahun 2020 tentang Penetapan Oasis Geospasial Dasar dan Peta Rupabumi Indonesia Kilas Tahun 2020.
2. Keputusan Kepala BIG Nomor 220 Tahun 2020 tentang Penetapan Unsur Geru Pantai Untuk Wilayah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia Edisi Tahun 2020.
3. Peta Batas Maritim Indonesia-Malaysia (BATAS) versi 2.0 dan ETOPO v1 versi 2.0.
4. Garis batas wilayah administrasi (darat) sebesar mengacu pada Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri.
5. Kepmendagri Nomor 300.2.2-2138 Tahun 2020 tentang Pemberian dan Pemutakhiran Kode, Data Wilayah Administrasi Pemerintahan, dan Pulau.
6. Peta Batas Landas Kontinen Indonesia (ALKI) skala 1:500.000 dan 1:100.000, DISHIDROS TNI AL, 2012.
7. Peta Zona Ekonomi Eksklusif Wilayah Kepulauan Indonesia skala 1: 1.000.000, DISHIDROS TNI AL, 2015.
8. Peta Dasar Pangkal Wilayah Negara Kepulauan Indonesia skala 1: 200.000, DISHIDROS TNI AL, 2015.
9. Peta Batas Landas Kontinen Indonesia di Luar 200 Mil Laut.
   Catatan: Untuk penyesuaian datum antara batas Indonesia disesuaikan dengan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 38 Tahun 2002 tentang Daftar Koordinat Geografi Titik-Titik Garis Pangkal Kepulauan Indonesia sebagaimana telah diubah dengan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 37 Tahun 2008 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 38 Tahun 2002 tentang Daftar Koordinat Geografis Titik-Titik Garis Pangkal Kepulauan Indonesia.
10. Undang-Undang No. 23 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah.
11. Beberapa Undang-Undang terkait Pembentukan Provinsi, Kabupaten/Kota di Indonesia.
12. Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 2017 tentang Penetapan Pulau-pulau Kecil Terluar

**NEGARA KESATUAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA**

Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) merupakan Negara Kepulauan (Archipelagic State) yang berbatasan dengan 10 (sepuluh) negara, 2 (dua) laut, Indonesia berbatasan dengan Malaysia, Papua Nugini, dan Timor-Leste, Selangkin di laut, Indonesia berbatasan dengan India, Palau, Malaysia, Singapura, Vietnam, Filipina, Palau, Papua Nugini, Australia, dan Timor Leste.

**I. WILAYAH DARAT NKRI**

Wilayah darat (NKRI terdiri atas daratan pada semua pulau yang berada di sekeliling dalam garis pangkal Kepulauan Indonesia. Khusus di P. Kalimantan, P. Sebatik, P. Pantai, dan P. Timor berdasarkan perjanjian perjanjian sebagai berikut:

1. Batas negara dengan Malaysia di P. Kalimantan dan Sebatik mengacu kepada perjanjian batas antara Pemerintah Inggris dan Pemerintah Hindia Belanda (Konvensi 1891, Traktat 1915, dan 1928), Hindi antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah Malaysia Nomor 32 dan 33 Tahun 1960 tentang Perjanjian Antara Indonesia dan Malaysia Tentang Garis Batas Wilayah Kedua Negara di Selat Malaka, Perjanjian Pemerintah Malaysia Nomor 21 Tahun 2003 untuk Area C (P.U.) SUTOR - SEKOR, dan Nomor 31 Tahun 2003 untuk area West Coast of Pulau Sebatik, Hasil Hindi Pilar - A42.
2. Batas negara dengan Papua Nugini di P. Papua mengacu kepada Perjanjian antara Indonesia dan Australia mengenai garis-garis Batas Tertentu antara Indonesia dan Papua Nugini tanggal 12 Februari 1973, Xong disetiluasi dengan Undang-undang Nomor 6 Tahun 1973, Diperkuat dengan Delicinsi antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah Papua Nugini tentang Hasil Pengukuran 52 Monitor Abmunsen Wilayah Kedua Negara di Sebelah Utara Pulau Sebatik.
3. Batas negara dengan Timor-Leste di P. Timor mengacu kepada perjanjian antara Pemerintah Hindia Belanda dan Portugis pada Tahun 1904 dan Permanent Court Award (PCA) 1914, Perjanjian Sementara antara Pemerintah Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik Demokratik Timor-Leste tentang Penetapan Batas Maritim di Wilayah Laut tanggal 8 Juni 2002, serta kesepakan Rio I Perundingan Sementara antara Indonesia dan Timor-Leste pada tanggal 8 Juni 2014.

**II. WILAYAH ZUNA ZONA, PENGIRIAN NKRI**

Indonesia memiliki kedaulatan di wilayah perairan pedalaman, perairan kepulauan, dan laut teritorial serta memiliki hak berdaulat di zona tambahan, zona ekonomi eksklusif, dan landas kontinen.

**Dasar Hukum terkait zona perairan NKRI adalah:**

**Umum**

1. Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 1960 tentang Zona Ekonomi Eksklusif Indonesia
2. Undang-Undang Nomor 17 Tahun 1985 tentang Pengesahan United Nations Convension on the Law of the Sea (Konvensi Perserikatan Bangsa-bangsa tentang Hukum Laut)
3. Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 1996 tentang Perairan Indonesia
4. Undang-Undang Nomor 43 Tahun 2008 tentang Wilayah Negara.
5. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 37 Tahun 2002 tentang Hak dan Kewajiban Kapal dan Pesawat Udara Asing dalam Melaksanakan Hak Lintas Alur Laut Kepulauan Melalui Alur Laut Kepulauan Yang Ditetapkan.
6. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 38 Tahun 2002 tentang Daftar Koordinat Geografis Titik-Titik Garis Pangkal Kepulauan Indonesia
7. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 37 Tahun 2008 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 38 Tahun 2002 tentang Daftar Koordinat Geografis Titik-Titik Garis Pangkal Kepulauan Indonesia.
8. Keputusan Presiden No.8 Tahun 2017 tentang Penetapan Pulau-Pulau Kecil Terluar.
9. Perjanjian Antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Commonwealth Australia tentang Penetapan Batas-batas Dasar Laut Tertentu di Laut Timor dan Laut Arafuru.
10. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 81 Tahun 1974 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik India mengenai Penetapan Batas Landas Kontinen Kedua Negara.
11. Undang-Undang Nomor 22 Tahun 2014 tentang Pelayaran.

**Khusus**

**A. Batas Laut Wilayah (Teritorial)**

1. Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 1971 tentang Perjanjian Antara Republik Indonesia dan Malaysia tentang Penetapan Garis Batas Laut Wilayah Kedua Negara di Selat Malaka.
2. Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 1973 tentang Perjanjian Antara Indonesia dan Australia Mengenai Garis-garis Batas Tertentu antara Indonesia - Papua New Guinea.
3. Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 1973 tentang Perjanjian Antara Indonesia dan Singapura tentang Penetapan Garis Batas Laut Wilayah Kedua Negara di Bagian Barat Selat Singapura.
4. Undang-Undang Nomor 4 Tahun 2018 tentang Perjanjian antara Republik Indonesia dan Republik Singapura tentang Penetapan Garis Batas Laut Wilayah Kedua Negara di bagian Timur Selat Singapura.

**B. Batas Wilayah Yurisdiksi**

1. Undang-Undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2007 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik Sosialis Vietnam tentang Penetapan Batas Landas Kontinen tanggal 26 Juli 2003.
2. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 89 Tahun 1982 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Malaysia tentang Penetapan Garis-garis Landas Kontinen antara Kedua Negara.
3. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 42 Tahun 1971 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Commonwealth Australia tentang Penetapan Batas-batas Dasar Laut Tertentu.
4. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 26 Tahun 1972 tentang Persetujuan Antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, Pemerintah Malaysia, dan Pemerintah Kerajaan Thailand tentang Penetapan Batas Landas Kontinen Ketiga Negara di Bagian Utara Selat Malaka.
5. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 21 Tahun 1972 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Kerajaan Thailand tentang Penetapan Batas Garis Batas Landas Kontinen antara Kedua Negara di Bagian Utara Selat Andaman.
6. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 20 Tahun 1972 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Commonwealth Australia tentang Penetapan Batas-batas Dasar Laut Tertentu di Laut Timor dan Laut Arafuru.
7. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 51 Tahun 1971 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik India mengenai Penetapan Batas Dasar Laut Tertentu.
8. Memorandum Saling Pengertian antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Australia Mengenai Cameo Hidupan Tradisional Indonesia di Area Kerumunny Ekshelf Australia dan Landas Kontinen Tanggal 7 November 1974.
9. Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Australia Mengenai Hidupan Tradisional Indonesia di Area Kerumunny Ekshelf Australia dan Landas Kontinen tanggal 7 November 1974.
10. Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1973 tentang Penetapan Batas Landas Kontinen Indonesia dan Pemerintah Kerajaan Thailand tentang Penetapan Suatu Garis Batas Dasar Laut antara Kedua Negara di Laut Andaman.
11. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 28 Tahun 1977 tentang Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik India mengenai Penetapan Batas Dasar Laut Tertentu.
12. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 26 Tahun 1969 tentang Penetapan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, Pemerintah Republik India, dan Pemerintah Kerajaan Thailand tentang Penetapan Tiga Garis Batas dan Penetapan Garis Batas Ketiga Negara di Laut Andaman.
13. Keputusan Presiden Nomor 21 Tahun 1982 tentang Persetujuan Hasil Perundingan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dengan Pemerintah Papua Nugini tentang Garis-Garis Batas Maritim antara Republik Indonesia dan Papua Nugini dan Kerjasama tentang Hidupan Tradisional.
14. Memorandum Saling Pengertian antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Australia Mengenai Implementasi Ketentuan Pengawasan Perikanan dan Perjanjian Perikanannya tanggal 29 Oktober 1981.
15. Undang-Undang Nomor 4 Tahun 2017 tentang Pengesahan Pemerintah Australia tentang Penetapan Batas Zona Ekonomi Ekslusif dan Batas Laut Tertentu diberlakukannya tanggal 14 Maret 1997.
16. Undang-Undang Nomor 4 Tahun 2017 tentang Pengesahan Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Republik Filipina mengenai Penetapan Batas Zona Ekonomi Ekslusif, 2014.
17. Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2017 tentang Pengesahan Persetujuan "Draft to Proposal to the Submission made by Indonesia in respect of the area North West of Sumatra on 16 June 2008 (Memorandum Kontur Batas Landas Kontinen tentang submisi yang disampaikan oleh Indonesia untuk area sebelah Barat Laut Sumatera tertanggal 16 Juni 2008). Rekomendasi tersebut disahkan pada tanggal 28 Maret 2011. Area dasar laut tersebut luas wilayah yurisdiksi landas kontinen Indonesia bertambah seluas 4.209 km2.

# Environment and visual culture in the Netherlands Indies

Images of tropical landscapes traditionally provided a backdrop to the stories of commerce, conquest, exploration and discovery that were woven into Dutch histories of the Netherlands Indies, as well as to the narratives of exploitation, conflict, resistance and autonomy that characterize Indonesian accounts of the colonial period. This book brings colonial images of Indies landscapes into the historical foreground. It argues that, rather than simply mirroring colonial actions, framing historical moments, and recording the outcomes of Dutch expansion, European images of Indies landscapes formed colonial notions of the Indies' past and future and expressed the impulses driving colonial conquest. This book examines how colonial images of the tropics not only reflected but were in fact constitutive of social, political and economic modes of Dutch imperialism. European images of Indies landscapes were a cornerstone of colonial culture, not its decorative frescoes; they were core elements of how Europeans envisioned the tropics, justified their territorial claims in the region, and understood their place both within imperial Europe and within a nominally colonized Asian environment.

According to the argument advanced in a recent collection of essays entitled *Tropical visions in an age of empire*, the tropics, perhaps more so than any other geographical sphere of colonial expansion, were represented by Europeans 'as something to be seen – a view to be had or a vision to be experienced' (Driver and Martins 2005:5). For the draftspeople, painters, printmakers and photographers who created the works examined in this book, visual images mattered enormously to their perceptions of the Netherlands Indies. Though many of them were well educated, highly literate and in command of multiple talents, the idiom in which these artists ultimately chose to engage with Indies landscapes and peoples, express their views, and communicate with an audience was a visual one. Further, landscape was one of the most popular and enduring subjects in European visual images of the Netherlands Indies during the colonial period (circa 1800–1949). In paintings, drawings, prints and photographs, in public exhibits and private collections of Indies art, landscapes were almost always a significant presence. Palm trees, volcanic mountain ranges, verdant valleys and shimmering rice fields gave texture and colour to Dutch imaginings of a distant colonial possession. Images of the natural environment of the Indies geographically located the Netherlands' chief nineteenth-century colony in the tropics. Topographical views of the Indies offered an alluring contrast to the flat polderlands and cold waterways of the Netherlands. Images of Indies landscapes also provided a tangible vision of a concept and a claim: a European colonial possession in the tropics – an 'emerald archipelago' where the anchor of Dutch imperial power was first sunk during the late sixteenth century, and which seemed to offer an endless series of new harbours (and hinterlands) for Dutch expansion until well into the twentieth century.[1] In the late colonial period, Indies landscapes were the

site of struggles for control of the past and the future: between visions of antiquity and stasis versus modernity and change; between Dutch imperial ambitions and Indonesian nationalist aims.

Environmental and economic historians have long recognized the importance of natural environments for comprehending European imperialism in Southeast Asia. Scholars have shown that agriculture, mining and forestry were important not just to the colonial-dominated export sector of the Netherlands Indies economy, but also to regional and local markets, and to the subsistence of ordinary Indonesians. The Indies' natural resources were a significant font of the Netherlands' wealth between 1600 and 1950. They enabled the transformation of the Dutch Republic into a leading European power in the seventeenth century, and paid for the reconstruction of the Netherlands following the devastating French invasion at the end of the eighteenth century.[2] Commerce in agricultural commodities – specifically, export crops destined for the European market – had attracted the first agents of colonial rule in the early modern period. Control over this lucrative trade motivated some of the earliest interventions of the fledgling colonial state in the modern era, and steered further territorial expansion, under both private and government auspices, in the late colonial period. Access to spices like cloves and nutmeg – dried flower buds from plants native to a tiny slew of islands in the Moluccas (Maluku) – motivated the corporate merger between numerous competing Dutch trading houses that, in 1602, resulted in the formation of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company). Land for the Company's 'factories' (fortified bases) and access to labour for agricultural production were central to the VOC's territorial claims over the two centuries during which it represented the Netherlands in Asia. It was also under the VOC, in the eighteenth century, that the first system of forced deliveries of coffee beans was implemented on Java. Coffee – together with a range of other plantation crops including sugar, tea, indigo and tobacco – drew the continual attention of the colonial state that replaced the VOC in the nineteenth century. Profits secured through cheap production and delivery of plantation commodities were the motivation behind the so-called *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system), implemented by the colonial government in 1830 specifically to pay the Netherlands' debts and reparations following the French occupation. Control over Javanese labour was key to Dutch management of the system, but access to fertile land was also at stake.[3] In the 1870s, when private commercial interests were granted entry to a liberalized Indies economy, territorial conquest and agriculture remained central to accelerated Dutch expansion. 'New' lands were opened in regions like East Sumatra, where an agri-industrial complex of rubber plantations, staffed with imported Asian and European labour, nourished the assembly lines and factories of Europe and

**1** 'Emerald archipelago' paraphrases the Netherlands' most famous colonial novelist, Multatuli (pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker) in *Max Havelaar, or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading Company* (1860). The phrase comes from Multatuli's closing comments, in which he directly entreats the King of the Netherlands to intervene in order to protect his colonial subjects: '*Keizer* van het prachtige Ryk van *Insulinde* dat zich daar slingert om den evenaar, als een gordel van smaragd...' (Multatuli 1929:390). The English edition reads: 'EMPEROR of the glorious realm of INSULINDE, that coils yonder round the Equator like a girdle of emerald...' (Multatuli 1987:320).

**2** On the role of East India Company trade in the economic growth of the Dutch Republic, see Israel 1989:6–11. On the role of Indies exports in the Netherlands' reconstruction following the French invasion in 1795 and the Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century, see Fasseur 1992:145–61; Elson 1994:99; Ricklefs 2001:155, 159–60.

**3** Though only a small proportion (4–6%) of the cultivated land of Java and Madura was subject to the cultivation system, competition for fertile soil between export crops (like sugar, tobacco and tea) and subsistence crops (like rice) continued to place land at the centre of colonial debates about the viability and ethics of the system (Elson 1994:157; Ricklefs 2001:56, 83, 104–5, 108).

North America.[4] Economic, social and political histories of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia are thus firmly planted in land, environment and natural resources.

The rise of environmental history in recent decades has also placed landscapes and their relationship to human societies at the centre of scholarly inquiry into colonial Indonesia. Richard Grove's *Green imperialism* (1995) and its successor, *Ecology, climate and empire* (1997), signalled this broad shift in colonial and Southeast Asian studies. Both works posited that modern conservation movements had their origins in the tropics rather than in Europe or North America, a contention that has been supported time and again with empirical evidence from the Netherlands Indies. The work of Peter Boomgaard and Nancy Lee Peluso, for example, revealed that the VOC was regulating forest exploitation on Java as early as the seventeenth century in the interests of sustainable production of lucrative stands like teak and sandalwood, a policy that was replicated by various government bureaucracies throughout the colonial period. In the late nineteenth century, concerns about soil erosion and wildlife depletion in forest environments also evinced government regulation of non-productive forests (*wildhoutbossen*).[5] Further research has identified the indigenous conservation practices that pre-dated colonial forest regulation.[6] Other ecologies like mountains, oceans and rivers have also been added to the substantial literature that investigates the dynamics of environmental exploitation and conservation in colonial Indonesia.[7]

Environmental histories have revealed the role of colonial institutions in fostering ecological change, as well as Asian agency in countering the demands of agri-business and the colonial state. However, beyond the elite realms of political dialogue and educated opinion, these studies have only tangentially addressed broader colonial attitudes to Indies environments that might have informed – may in fact have been coeval with or antecedent to – changes in policy and practice. If, as most scholars now recognize, colonial perspectives were culturally specific rather than universally true, and contemporary understanding of colonial policies and practices requires examination of 'how Europeans imagined themselves in the colonies' (Stoler 1995:99), then representations of landscape are as crucial to understanding European colonialism in the tropics as the actions that determined how environments were to be used, and by whom.

The notion of 'tropicality' is useful for pursuing this aim.[8] David Arnold (2000:7) posits that European views of the tropics, like notions of the Orient, 'represented an enduring alterity, but one which qualifies and extends the Orientalist paradigm, not least by demonstrating that historically Europe possessed more than one sense of "otherness"'. European notions of the tropics, in this view, deserve their own rigorous analysis, lest their historical and cultural specificities become obscured by universalist scholarly notions of 'orientalism' or 'cultural imperialism'.

**4** For an early, critical scholarly view of the liberalization of the Indies economy in the 1870s, see Furnivall 1939:174–224. For a more recent view, see Prince 1989:203–26. On the plantation economy of East Sumatra (Deli), see the classic studies by Stoler 1985 and Breman 1990b.

**5** Peluso 1991:69, 71. In the 1890s, the category of non-productive forests grew to include *schermbossen* (watershed-protection forests) (Boomgard 1999:262).

**6** Peter Boomgaard's work demonstrates how Javanese notions of *angker* (sacred or haunted forests), which have their corollaries among communities in other parts of Indonesia, effectively worked to preserve some forests from exploitation. The game reserves kept by Javanese elites similarly functioned to protect certain lands and animal species, and often formed the nucleus of reserves subsequently established by the Dutch (Boomgaard 1992, 1999).

**7** On mountains, see Boomgaard 1999, 2003:295–314. On oceans and rivers, see Boomgaard, Henley and Osseweijer 2005; Boomgaard 2007.

**8** David Arnold (1996:141–68, 1998:2–6, 2000:6–7, 2005:10, 231) has been responsible for most cogently developing the concept of tropicality. See also Driver and Martins 2005:4–5; Cosgrove 2005:197–216.

The paradoxes of tropicality are no less pronounced than those of cognate discourses like orientalism; 'knowledge of the tropical world was not always a settled knowledge but frequently a contradictory knowledge-in-the-making' (Driver and Martins 2005:7–8). In the colonial era, the tropics emerged in European views as a geographically distinct entity whose cultural and social forms were constrained and determined by a unique climate and topography. 'As a landscape', Denis Cosgrove (2005:215) has contended, 'tropicality is at once phenomenological and representational'. European notions of the tropics were generated by an interplay between representation on the one hand and experience on the other (Cosgrove 2005:197), both of which became more complex and sustained as colonial expansion accelerated from the sixteenth century onwards.

Much of the extant literature on tropicality has focused on European views of South Asia, the Americas and the Pacific.[9] A study of tropicality in a Southeast Asian context – in this case, colonial Indonesia – is thus long overdue. This book examines colonial notions of tropicality as imagined, expressed and circulated in paintings, drawings and photographs of Indies landscapes. In doing so, it aims to connect ideology to policy, aesthetics to practice, and nature to a neglected field of culture in histories of the Netherlands Indies – to visual images: modes in which landscapes were imagined, represented and seen by Europeans in the tropics. This book argues that broader colonial attitudes to tropical landscapes were congruent with the expansionary aims of colonial government and business in unexpected ways. While forests and commercially productive land were of primary concern to agriculturalists and administrators, they did not feature strongly as themes in colonial visual imagery. Plantations, for example, were celebrated as sites of colonial industry and efficiency in photographs, but were routinely omitted from paintings of Indies landscapes, even by those artists whose livelihoods depended on export agriculture. Images of peaceful, prosperous and fertile landscapes in colonial painting were, however, compatible with the concerns of planters and the state in that they cleared a conceptual space for agricultural expansion and suggested an absence of local opposition to colonial rule. The topics of interest to colonial government and business – the commercial viability of agriculture, horticulture and silviculture, as well as protection and sustainability – were not of obvious interest to European artists and photographers. Nonetheless, European images of the tropics illuminate the position of Indies landscapes in colonial cosmology.

While the focus of this book is on non-urban environments, what we are discussing is rarely 'nature' undisturbed by human intervention. To investigate the representation of nature in colonial imagery is to chart a key step in cultural transformations of Indonesian landscapes. Indeed, Arnold (2005:6) has argued that European representations of landscape were often 'a prelude to, or necessary precondition for, the physical transformation' of the countryside by colonists. To avoid repetition, in addition to 'landscape' I occasionally use the term 'environment' as a synonym throughout this book, but more frequently, to evoke a broader sense of place that has much in common with that elusive term, 'nature'. Indeed, both words are used to designate more than what is seen, to evoke features such as temperature and humidity, and seasonal fluctuations such as levels of rainfall and variations in light, which are often perceived by senses other than sight. In keeping with the major focus on visual images, however, the term used most frequently throughout this book is 'landscape', a word whose etymology highlights its appropriateness for historical analysis of visual sources. In the Low Countries during the early modern era, *landschap* commonly indicated both an administrative region and its painted or drawn image (Schama 1995:10). A vocabulary for space and place as well as for representations of it thus developed in tandem with each other as modes of visual and territorial organization in northern Europe at around the same time that the Dutch Republic envisioned an independent existence and began to expand overseas.

## Views from the past: Visual sources and history

In concentrating on visual images of Indies landscapes, this book draws upon a substantial array of published and unpublished images

made by artists and photographers in and of the Netherlands Indies. Since the work of J. de Loos-Haaxman (1941, 1968, 1971) was first issued in the early 1940s, an ever increasing number of works on European painters in the Netherlands Indies has emerged. In the last two decades, this list seems to have grown exponentially, augmented by published collections of colonial photographs. Most extant works on Indies paintings, drawings, prints and photographs can generally be divided into three categories: first, descriptive anthologies that assemble a wide range of images from particular locales, archival collections or periods of time; second, reprints, in whole or in part, of folios or photographic collections that were first published in the colonial period; and third, biographical monographs on particular artists and photographers.[10] Such works are frequently based on extensive archival research that traces the provenance of images and the lives of the people who made them. The museums, archives and private collections in which the original images are held have, in many cases, collaborated with authors to reproduce images, thereby bringing them to a wider audience. It was through the reproductions in such works that I was first introduced to many of the images examined in this book. This was followed by further viewing in numerous museums and archives in the Netherlands and Indonesia.[11] Many Dutch institutions also provide digital access to their holdings. The Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT) in Amsterdam, the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Leiden, and a collaborative network of Dutch institutions contributing to the Atlas of Mutual Heritage all provide online access to thousands of images of the Netherlands Indies.[12]

Though the extant scholarship on Indies art and photography has fulfilled the vital function of bringing a large range of images to light and describing the circumstances in which they were made, few studies have analysed colonial representations of landscape as historical aspects of a visual culture worth investigating for what they reveal (and obscure) about colonial mentalities and attitudes – the ideals and anxieties, fears and fantasies that informed European notions about and interventions in the Indonesian environment.[13] Viewing colonial landscape images against the historical context in which they were produced, rather than simply tracing their origins and provenance, has been the main approach taken to the visual sources in this book. In doing so, I draw upon theoretical and methodological paradigms in visual culture studies, a multidisciplinary field which began to flourish around the same time that renewed interest in Indies art emerged, during the early 1990s. Indeed, in the last two decades a 'pictorial turn' has drawn wider scholarly attention to the world of images.[14] Art historians have long recognized that visual sources contain traces of the past as concrete and complex as the textual worlds of the documentary archive, literature and news media. Historians,

**9** Cosgrove 2005:201. Arnold 2000 is one of the few works that makes European views of Southeast Asia its focus.

**10** See the Bibliography for an extensive list of such works.

**11** The most relevant of these museums and galleries are listed in the Bibliography.

**12** Some of the works held by the KIT Tropenmuseum, which houses the largest collection of Indies paintings in the world, can be viewed at collectie.tropenmuseum.nl. A large part of the KITLV's collection of drawings, prints and photographs can be viewed at kitlv.pictura-dp.nl. The Atlas of Mutual Heritage can be accessed at www.nationaalarchief.nl/amh. Where possible, the images examined here have also been viewed in the original, shown in Dutch and Indonesian museums and archives (listed in the Bibliography). On the importance of viewing images in their archival context, and on the virtues and problems associated with digitization, see Stoler 2000:87–109; Dodge 2006:345–67.

**13** Notable exceptions are Clarke 1997; Kam 1999; Vickers 1999; Fan 2000.

**14** W.J.T. Mitchell (1994:11–24) first used the term 'pictorial turn' in *Picture theory*.

though they will readily acknowledge that 'images matter' (as one scholar has observed), often 'continue to treat visual material as illustrative, rather than constitutive, of the agendas and problems they explore', and thus to privilege written texts alone as 'evidence' of colonial mentalities and cultural discourses (Umbach 2002:319). This tendency has been reinforced by the persistent theoretical dominance of the 'linguistic turn' (Stafford 1996:5). Indeed, debate on the value of visual studies for history (although history is not the only discipline to question the utility of the pictorial turn) tends to rest on the question of whether images alone can serve as primary sources, or whether textual sources are required to support interpretive analyses (Homer 1998:8).

This book contends that both approaches yield valuable insights into colonial history. In some chapters, images constitute the principle materials of examination, with little reference to written primary sources. Chapter 1, for instance, traces the development of visual conventions across the entire history of Dutch colonial contact with the Indies, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, in order to examine the legacies of VOC-era ways of seeing in the colonial period. Chapter 4 examines late-colonial visual images of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic monuments in Indies landscapes in relation to each other, instead of in relation to the texts that Europeans generated in discussing antiquities. The historical context of the Aceh War and the conquest of Bali frames the discussion of the production and circulation of these images, but the argument of the chapter rests on examining pictorial voids – the *absence* of an imaginative strain in colonial images of Islam in the Indies – rather than textual backgrounds.

Other chapters, by contrast, follow the exhortation of W.J.T. Mitchell (1995:540, 543) – one of the earliest scholars to formulate new theoretical approaches to what he then defined as 'the study of the social construction of visual experience' – to examine the relationship between images and their contemporary texts. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 combine Dutch literary treatments of Indies landscapes with pictorial views. Chapter 2, for example, considers the construction of the Groote Postweg (Great Post Road) on Java in the early nineteenth century as one of several key sources of colonial pride in and visible justifications for Dutch rule in times of political controversy. Paintings of governors-general in the early nineteenth century commonly featured the Postweg in the backdrop, and even the writer Multatuli – that most acerbic of critics of the cultivation system, which benefited from the construction of the road – considered the Postweg one of the greatest achievements of the early colonial period. Chapter 3 analyses visual and textual depictions of the Java War in the memoirs issued by one of its famous Dutch veterans, Major F.V.H.A. de Stuers. These memoirs feature as part of a larger discussion on the role of colonial images in naturalizing Dutch conquest. Finally, Chapter 5 examines colonial voyeurism and the sexualization of Indonesian men and women through allusions to nature in paintings and photographs, as well as in Dutch colonial fiction. The literary sources discussed problematize received scholarly assumptions that the feminization of the tropics accounted for their erotic appeal to Europeans.

Examining visual and textual primary sources together raises the question of whether one medium (in this case, literature) can profitably shed light on the 'hidden, dark side' of another (visual art), a claim that some scholars have expressed misgivings about.[15] This book develops the contention that colonial images of Indies landscapes did indeed tend to dazzle the eye with ideals rather than darken viewers' minds with concerns, a task that was more frequently taken up by writers. Recognizing the way in which images of Indies landscapes were differentiated by medium is crucial to revealing such veiled consistencies. I argue that colonial painting, for instance, developed into a nostalgic art form that was a vehicle for idealizing the tropics. With few exceptions, most Indies painters avoided ugliness and controversy in their work, preferring instead images of exotic beauty and tranquil prosperity that reached their apotheosis in the sub-genre of landscapes which came to be known as *mooi Indië* (beautiful Indies) paintings.

Thematically and stylistically, European painters in the Indies produced a remarkably

cohesive body of work in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, individual differences in talent and technique notwithstanding. Few scholars have attempted to account for this trend. This book argues that, for much of the nineteenth century, the extraordinary consistency in Indies painting can be explained in terms of the professional vocation of most artists, who were career colonists first and hobby painters second, and hence were stakeholders in the maintenance of peaceful, prosperous landscapes.

Painters' continuing fixation on idyllic scenes from the late nineteenth century onward is more perplexing, given that the artists at work in this period were of a more diverse background than their predecessors, and that few were directly involved in exploiting the land. I argue that the work of such artists was enabled by a freedom peculiar to the colonial elite, whose class privileges (mobility, independence, superiority) were usually augmented by their race (European) and gender (masculine); indeed, the vast majority of well-known colonial artists and photographers in the Indies were men.[16] The very space in which these artists worked – their ability to pursue artistic inspiration in the tropics – was enabled by Dutch claims to sovereignty over the Indies, and thus their work was deeply implicated in colonial expansion itself. The adherence of late-colonial painters to idealistic views of the Indies can also be understood in terms of the full development of a 'rural romance' in late colonial culture, one that 'was at once the most nostalgic, and the most utopian, and the most embattled of… imagined futures' (Stoler 2009:110). Professionalized painters in the late-colonial period accommodated entrenched public tastes for pleasing scenes of the Indies countryside and its peasantry. *Mooi Indië* views furnished the (temporally and geographically) exotic allure of a natural environment that seemed almost extinct in Europe, particularly after the horrors of the First World War. Further, and importantly, late-colonial images of Indies landscapes provided an imaginative escape for European viewers from the realities of violent colonial expansion and increasingly virulent Indonesian resistance.

By contrast to painting, Indies photographers produced a far less cohesive body of images. These only occasionally replicated idealistic painterly views of the Indies. The diversity in Indies photography can be attributed, firstly, to the continuing association of the medium with reportage for most of the colonial period, and secondly, to the tendency of photography to attract a greater variety of practitioners and viewers. Since photography itself was the outcome of technological innovation, the camera was deemed by nineteenth-century audiences as an appropriate tool to capture the modernity of colonial landscapes (Jussim and Lindquist-Cock 1985:41; Maxwell 2000:11). From its earliest applications in the 1840s, and throughout the colonial period, photographers often functioned

**15** Umbach (2002:326), for example, notes that whenever eighteenth-century British images do not fit into the paradigms derived from historical texts, they have frequently – and erroneously – been cast by scholars as representative of an 'Other'. Stafford (1996:4–7) argues that a widespread ideological adherence among scholars in a range of disciplines to the superiority of texts as sources has tended to invalidate the use of visual images as important sources in their own right.

**16** There are notable exceptions to this rule, including the Bali photographer Thilly Weissenborn (Vickers 1991:87–96).

in similar ways to the draftspeople whom they succeeded: as specialized, technically-trained adjuncts to scholarly, scientific and military expeditions. The first use of photography in the Indies was, in fact, for an archaeological project (Groeneveld 1989:16). (Other academic disciplines would also find significant uses for photography, notably anthropology and ethnography) (Edwards 1992; Maxwell 2000:38–72). Colonial government, business and scientific institutions were very receptive to the potential of photographs for reportage. Plantation companies often employed photographers to document the development of their estates, or to celebrate the completion of a new road or bridge connecting the plantation to existing infrastructure (Museum Volkenkunde 1989:92–5; Kors 1991:53–7; Ouwehand 2009:172–9). Where painters tended to focus exclusively on images of stasis, then, photographers regularly depicted the transformations that colonial rule had wrought upon Indies landscapes. Such images of the Indies were cornerstones of the triumphant, positivist discourses that supported colonial exploitation and expansion.

Photography also fulfilled a commemorative, even populist, purpose in colonial culture. Photographs appeared as illustrations in books as well as in private family albums.[17] By the end of the nineteenth century, the invention of compact, portable cameras had made everyone a potential photographer. From the late nineteenth century onward, postcards, photographs and souvenir albums could be purchased in the studios that flourished throughout the major cities of the Indies, and were an important commodity associated with the growth of imperial tourism.[18] Ateliers servicing European and Asian clients proliferated throughout the archipelago from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Many, like the famous Woodbury & Page studio, produced commissioned portraits as well as popular views of colonial cities and European places of leisure in highland retreats (Bloom 1991:29–35; Wachlin 1994). Souvenir photographs distilled certain types of familiar landscapes as sites of collective memory and nostalgia – the panoramic view of looming mountains and coconut groves from the colonial hotel; the curved rim of a remote shoreline, punctuated by the clustered buildings of a working harbour; the tidy front lawn of a European homestead, fastidiously enclosed with potted tropical plants. Other landscapes – jungles, lands subject to swidden cultivation or soil erosion, terrain razed for plantation agriculture, sites of violence – remained the province of colonial authorities who sought to illustrate their dossiers with visual forms of reportage.

The consistencies and contrasts between painting and photography reiterate the key contention of this book: that an examination of landscape in Indies visual culture addresses important gaps in our knowledge of Indonesia's history. It transpires that, except for photographs taken for a

**17** See the holdings of the KITLV, Leiden, recently overviewed in Ouwehand 2009. See also the holdings of the KIT Tropenmuseum Fotobureau, Amsterdam.

**18** Haks and Wachlin 2004:24; Grant 1995. An extensive list of prominent photographic studios in the Netherlands Indies is given in Museum Volkenkunde 1989.

**19** Batavia, Bandung, Medan, Surabaya, Buitenzorg, Semarang, Tegal, Palembang and Makassar all developed kunstkringen in the early-twentieth century (Van Brakel 1999:103–4).

**20** In fact, according to Jean Couteau (1999:30), Pita Maha was established because painting in Bali had become 'too commercial'.

scientific or bureaucratic audience, very few genres of visual representation in the Indies addressed growing government concerns of deforestation and soil erosion in the late-colonial period. Painters, draftspeople and photographers who produced landscape images by and large ignored these issues in pursuit of themes that were of no less concern to the stability of Dutch rule and the sustainability of colonial exploitation. Through bringing Indies landscapes into the visual sphere of colonial knowledge, and by eliminating challenges to that expansion through the omission of conflict and resistance, colonial image-makers symbolically asserted European sovereignty over Indonesian landscapes.

In the Indies, painters were particularly consistent in omitting the proto-industrial, commercial bases of the Indies' agricultural economy, features that photographers and fiction writers regularly commented on. The tropical-pastoral vision of many colonial painters, discussed in Chapter 2, was clearly not sustainable in view of what most colonists, and even many people in the Netherlands, must have known to be a more complex reality. Photographs, for instance, celebrated plantations, the primary sources of colonial wealth, for their efficiency and productivity. Protest novels decried the exploitative bases of the colonial economy from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, beginning with Multatuli's critique of government complicity in corruption on Java in 1860 and continuing with Madelon Székely-Lulofs' indictment of indentured labour on Sumatran plantations in the 1930s. In persistently omitting these aspects of Dutch rule from Indies landscapes, painters created a colonial fantasy of non-intervention and pre-modernity that erased the adverse impact of colonialism. The images examined in this book thus do not illuminate recurring themes in colonial visual culture so much as probe the shadows that concealed its consistencies.

## Artists, audiences and institutions in the Netherlands Indies

Though many of the works examined in this book are ostensibly bereft of human subjects, the erstwhile artists and audiences respectively behind and before them anchor these images to a specific social context. Artists, audiences and the institutions that brought the two groups together are important for understanding the conditions in which representations of Indies landscapes were produced, circulated and viewed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of the Arts and Sciences), founded in 1778, was the earliest institution to support artists in the Indies, though its principle role was to promote science (Scalliet 1999:37–8; Pyenson and Sheets-Pyenson 2000:353). More significant institutions for the promotion of Indies art emerged in the late-colonial period. The most important of these was the network of *kunstkringen* (art circles), composed of mainly European enthusiasts, that emerged in large colonial cities.[19] On Bali, a cooperative of dealers and artists named Pita Maha was founded in 1936. The organization purported to regulate the quality and provenance of European and Balinese works and signalled, for the first time in Indies history, the existence of a thriving commercial art market.[20] The formation of such institutions in the late-colonial period marked an important change in the status of art and artists in Indies society. Before the late nineteenth century, few painters had been in a position to make a living from their work, as they relied upon other skills to gain passage to the Indies in the first instance (Scalliet 1999:68; Bosma and Raben 2008:124). As I argue throughout this book, the fact that most nineteenth-century Indies painters were employed as professional colonists in occupations like planting, administration, trade, or the military, positioned them as stakeholders in the stability of Dutch colonial rule, and is crucial to understanding the nature of colonial landscape images.

International audiences participated in the shaping of colonial visual culture through their consumption habits. It was they who, both in the Netherlands and the Indies, purchased the souvenir photographs sold by commercial studios, attended art exhibitions and world's fairs, and sustained an extraordinarily long-lived interest in particular styles of imagery, notably those in the *mooi Indië* genre. Most Europeans in

the Indies or the Netherlands would, by the late-colonial period, have been familiar with at least some of the landscape images and the artists who made them that are discussed in this book. Many of these images were seen by a small audience when they were first produced. Their circulation increased throughout the colonial period (and beyond, as we shall see in the concluding chapter), when they became the basis for printed reproductions in illustrated publications or were issued in folio format. The focus in this book on oil and watercolour paintings, drawings, prints and photographs covers some of the most widely-practiced forms of visual representation from the colonial period, both in Europe and in the Indies. These media all involved manual processes for most of the nineteenth century. It was not until the second half of that century that advances to printing technologies made mass production of images possible, a process which was significantly augmented by photography (Bastin and Brommer 1979:46–7). Indeed, photography was crucial to the increased circulation of images of the tropics from the late nineteenth century onward. Postcards – small format, affordable, portable pictures – promoted colonial travel and the consumption of tropical goods, and disseminated images of Indies landscapes to large audiences throughout the world (De Graaf 1972:16, 20; Fabian and Adam 1983:338; Haks and Wachlin 2004:24). Landscapes were thus seen in the late nineteenth century by large audiences at Indies and European art exhibitions, at international colonial expositions, in commemorative albums and as photographic souvenirs. In these forms and contexts, images of landscapes – as colonial lobby groups, business interests and the government itself appreciated – were powerful tools of education and propaganda, useful for shaping memory, patriotism and consumption habits.

Many of the sources examined in this book occupy multiple categories of visual representation, functioning both as art images as well as instances of reportage. Early nineteenth-century drawings and paintings, many of which were later reproduced as prints in illustrated books, were often initially intended by the colonial sponsors of scientific expeditions and surveys to provide topographic information. Because of their expense, photographs were reasonably limited in their initial circulation. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, cameras (and plates or film) became cheaper and more lightweight, and increased shutter speed allowed for candid images to be taken. As we shall see in Chapter 5, candid photographs in the late-colonial period sometimes captured the unpredictable responses of subjects more eloquently than the photographer intended. In some genres of late-colonial photography, however, themes that had traditionally been the subject of Dutch painting were also revitalized. Chapter 1, for instance, examines how images that recalled early-modern Dutch views of the Indies – particularly birds'-eye views and still lifes – were revived in colonial visual culture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The geographical origin of the sources examined in this book necessarily reflects the interests of the colonial artists who made the images, as well as the tastes of colonial audiences. Most examples are therefore drawn from the Moluccas, the earliest site of Dutch settlement in the Indies; Java, which held the largest continuous population of Europeans in the Indies; Sumatra, an important site of colonial expansion from the late nineteenth century onward; and Bali, which generated a disproportionate amount of western artistic and scholarly interest in the early twentieth century. Even this narrow focus on particular islands of the Indonesian archipelago gathers a vast number of images. This book focuses on the work of painters and photographers whose works circulated widely and who were particularly well known in their time. I therefore discuss images by early nineteenth-century draftsmen and painters like A.J. Bik and Antoine Payen, mid-nineteenth century painters like Abraham Salm and Raden Saleh, and renowned Indies artists of the early twentieth century such as Walter Spies and Hendrik Paulides, among others. Though the works of various photographers are discussed throughout the book, I particularly concentrate on images by the studio of Woodbury & Page, arguably the most pervasive and successful atelier of its kind in the Indies.

In the Indies, European artists and audiences comprised a tiny demographic

minority who comprised the colony's political and economic elite.[21] There are three complications associated with designating the ethnicity of this elite. First, the Indies attracted an unusually high proportion of European settlers who were not Dutch such that, with the exception of the upper echelons of the colonial bureaucracy, it often makes more sense to speak of 'European' rather than 'Dutch' colonial society (Oostindie 2008:4–6). This was true in the large towns of Batavia, but also on the plantations of East Sumatra and certainly among the bohemian group of settlers who made Bali their home during the 1920s and 1930s.[22] Second, 'European' society in the Netherlands Indies in fact included large numbers of people of Asian descent, a condition with its origins in the Company period (circa 1600–1800). From the seventeenth century onward, many of the European men who lived and worked in the tropics for long periods of time (often their entire lives) married, cohabited and had children with Asian women (Taylor 1983; Bosma and Raben 2008). These practices continued into the late-colonial period, despite government policies designed to engineer a more homogeneously white European elite, and regardless of demographic changes linked to advancements in international travel that shortened the distance between colony and metropole (Taylor 1983:128–30; Mrázek 2002:64, 74, 84). Third, throughout the duration of the colonial period most of those with European status in the Indies were in fact creole, that is, Indies-born (Bosma and Raben 2008:17, 223, 229). Therefore, while 'European' was an important legal classification in the Netherlands Indies (Fasseur 1994:31–56; Coppel 1999:33–41), the category frequently masked heterogeneous families and households in which Asian or Indo-European women acquired European status through their husbands (who might themselves have been creole or of mixed ancestry), as did those children whose fathers recognized them as legitimate.

Ultimately, this book considers the ethnicity of individual artists as tangential to designating whether or not their work belongs to colonial visual culture. Walter Spies and Adrien le Mayeur, for instance – both painters on Bali – were German and Belgian respectively, not Dutch. Neither were the founders of the famous photographic studio of Woodbury & Page from the Netherlands: Walter Woodbury and James Page were British, and first met one another in colonial Australia. Ernest Dezentjé, a renowned painter who produced exemplary *mooi Indië* views, was born in the Indies to an old and prominent Indo-European family. Raden Sjarief Bustaman Saleh, one of the most celebrated Indies artists of the mid-nineteenth century, in fact belonged to the Javanese nobility. Despite their diverse backgrounds, all these artists lived and worked within a common colonial context and, importantly, depicted similar themes and subjects in their execution of Indies landscapes. All of them produced images that adhered to a European landscape tradition

**21** By 1934, near the end of the colonial period, there were some 240,000 'Europeans' in the Indies, the largest number in colonial history and yet still only a fraction of the Indonesian population, which stood at around 60 million people (Oostindie 2008:7).

**22** For a discussion of the diversity of Europeans in Deli, see Breman 1990b:33. For a discussion of Europeans in Bali, see Vickers 1996.

(many artists had, in fact, been trained in Europe) and, though their clients sometimes included Indonesian patrons, their audience was mainly a European one. Much of their work was therefore part of a larger cultural dialogue that was often played out in the exhibition halls and reading rooms of Europe and its colonies.

As I shall elaborate upon in Chapter 3, Indonesians actively participated in this dialogue. Some, like the painter Raden Saleh and the court photographer Kassian Cephas, contributed substantially to the canon of colonial art, and have also been canonized as pioneers of Indonesian art in nationalist histories – intriguing ambiguities of repute and legacy that continue to divide observers today. Others, like Sindudarsono Sudjojono, articulated some of the earliest criticism against colonial art and its political meaning. All these artists of disparate origins participated in (if only through their opposition to it) a dominant visual culture that was inherently transnational and colonial by virtue of the themes it explored and the context in which it circulated.

## Images of Indies landscapes in imperial context

Colonial images of Indies landscapes were, in many respects, part of a broader European visual culture that, before the late nineteenth century, rarely borrowed from or referred to Indonesian art forms. This was particularly pronounced in paintings. The popularity of the panoramic view, the use of linear perspective to establish depth of field, and the pursuit of naturalist-realist styles to depict details all situate Indies paintings within a wider European tradition. This is unsurprising, given the training (and origins) of most of the European artists in the Indies, and the fact that much of their work was directed to European audiences. At first glance, some of the thematic concerns of Indies landscape artists, particularly the reluctance to portray human intervention in rural environments, were also shared with artists in Europe (until the late nineteenth century, at least). European painting typically historicized 'natural' landscapes, seeming always to be looking back, nostalgically, to a rural past when the disjunction between nature and culture was less visible. During the early seventeenth century, when the first large-scale land reclamation projects were launched in the Dutch Republic, landscape painters frequently edited those transformations out of their work, depicting instead an unchanged countryside free from technological innovations and urbanization (Adams 1994). In later eras, too, human intervention was omitted from images of landscape in Dutch painting. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Dutch painters, like their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, preferred to minimize the evidence of rural toil, routinely romanticizing farm work or leaving it out of their pictures of the countryside altogether (Ten-Doesschate Chu 1997:81; De Leeuw 1997:33). There is thus a significant precedent in the history of European painting, resonant with the idealistic views of *mooi Indië* paintings, for neglecting signs of radical social, political and economic transformation in images of landscape. Perhaps the fiction of an unchanging nature, separate from and resistant to 'culture', provided a unique imaginative refuge from the storm and stress of human history.

This book demonstrates that colonial artists in the Indies pursued these idealistic themes even beyond the late nineteenth century, when many painters in Europe began to direct their attention to urban and industrial landscapes. By the early twentieth century, Indonesian painters were also exploring the contemporary changes to their environment. The vast majority of colonial painters in the Indies, however (beyond rare exceptions like Pieter Ouborg and Charles Sayers), remained steadfast to the rural ideal.[23] Indies painting thus reflected broader colonial assumptions that the whole tropics were arrested at an earlier stage of historical development. Landscape art, as much as official and scientific rhetoric, reproduced stadial theories of civilization that positioned the tropical Indies as both temporally and geographically distinct from western Europe.

This book does not, however, contend that colonial images of Indies landscapes were comprehensive replications of a European visual culture. On the contrary, images of colonized landscapes in general, and of colonial images of landscapes in

the Netherlands Indies in particular, were iconographically distinct from landscape art in Europe. That is, while the form of Indies landscape images was (and is) recognizable to viewers familiar with European conventions for representing landscape, their subject matter and meaning were qualitatively distinct. As examined in Chapters 1 and 3, the fact that many nineteenth-century Dutch artists in the Indies were career colonists whose professions required mapping and surveying skills – tools that could be flexibly deployed for recreation as well as reconnaissance, for contemplation as much as for conquest – deeply implicates the landscape images that they produced in the very acts of expansion and colonization themselves.[24]

Though it is not the intention of this book to conduct a comparative analysis of colonized landscapes across multiple European visual cultures, it remains pertinent to acknowledge that the production and circulation of images of the Netherlands Indies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was situated within a global imperial context. The Netherlands Indies was not the only European colony in Asia (or indeed, elsewhere) to attract landscape painters and photographers. The British produced their share of images of the Asian tropics (Stepan 2001; Tobin 2005; De Almeida and Gilpin 2005; Arnold 2005:137–55, 2006). In the medium of painting, particularly, colonial images of South and Southeast Asian landscapes share basic thematic and stylistic features which, perhaps surprisingly, they also hold in common with European representations of landscape in white settler colonies, such as North America and Australia. Chapter 3 elaborates on some of these unexpected similarities, the most prominent of which is the existence of a pastoral trope in Indies art. Vast panoramic views of fertile, tranquil, unpopulated Indies landscapes frequently appear indistinguishable from images of sheep and cattle grazing country in the Australian outback or the American west (Sayers 1998:58–61; Kornhauser 1998:77–9; Hoorn 2007:9–11, 30, 62–3, 144; Tobin 2005:9; Gooding 2007:78). This similarity is all the more extraordinary given the emphasis on plantation agriculture in the Indies' export economy. At the foundation of these consistencies across diverse examples of colonial landscape art is a broad tendency to clear imaginative space for territorial expansion and empty colonized lands of opposition to European rule.

In other regards, European images of Indies landscapes were quite distinctive from those of other colonial visual cultures. There was, for instance, no Orientalist tradition in Indies art of the kind associated with French and British modes of representing the Middle East and northern Africa – a finding that supports contentions made elsewhere that colonial images of the tropics were iconographically distinct from those of the Orient (Driver and Martins 2005:16). Chapter 4 of this book examines how

**23** On the limited popularity of the modernist painter Pieter Ouborg, see Ten Duis and Haase 1990. On the rather more successful Charles Sayers, see Van Brakel 2004.

**24** Janda Gooding (2007:69) has similarly noted the influence of military training in a wide range of British colonial art in the early nineteenth century.

European painters and photographers in the Indies were much more likely to romanticize the landscapes bearing traces of Hindu and Buddhist histories than those that spoke of a Muslim past and present. Chapter 5 explores the unique manner in which colonial fantasies of the seductive 'east' were expressed in the tropics. In European images of Indies landscapes, sexual fantasies involving racial 'others' were located outdoors, against an exuberant tropical nature, rather than in the secreted interiors that European artists imagined in the classical Orient.

In a field where studies of the British empire have thus far dominated, this book therefore reiterates the necessity for closer investigation of European images of the tropics alongside regions of more established inquiry such as the Orient, and emphasizes the importance of foregrounding local contexts in interpreting a diversity of colonial visual cultures. Further, it aims to demonstrate that colonial representations of Indies environments formed a distinctive corpus within European images of the tropics, one that was founded in specifically Dutch histories of contact with and modes of seeing Indonesia, even while it referred to an imperium of ideas that expanded as European influence in Southeast Asia increased.

The lifespan of the images discussed in this book has endured beyond the culture and polity that sustained them, even if their colonial substance has ostensibly faded as their patinas have worn; thus their relevance to the post-colonial present, though altered, is maintained. As will be examined further in the concluding chapter of this book, pictures of the tropics from the colonial era have in recent decades assumed new popularity, meaning and commercial value among Asian and European buyers and sellers, as well as among international museum curators and audiences. European images of Indies landscapes thus comprise a legacy shared between Indonesia and the Netherlands, one that deserves further analysis than has thus far been received, and that here is intended to begin debate rather than attempt to end it.

CHAPTER ONE

# Historicizing colonialism

## The legacy of images made during the East India Company period in Dutch ways of seeing

During the seventeenth century, maps, topographical coastal views and still lifes were among the most prominent Dutch modes of representing aspects of the environment at home as well as abroad. These modes of looking, representing and engaging with Indies landscapes were deeply embedded in the histories of VOC conquest, and instrumental to the development of art and science in Europe. The lack of clear differentiation between the function of certain visual genres in the early modern period – as examples of art or instruments of science – enables the dual reading of their cultural role in supporting Dutch overseas expansion that is pursued in this chapter. Throughout the southern hemisphere, from Cape Town in South Africa to Ambon in eastern Indonesian, maps and coastal views were employed by the Dutch East and West India trading companies as tools of conquest (Zandvliet 2002b). The same category of images were also used as decorative pieces intended to celebrate Dutch military victories over local and European rivals in the Indies, consequent territorial gains for the VOC, and increased access to spices and other lucrative products. Maps and coastal views thus at once reflected and constituted acts of expansion, functioning simultaneously as the practical instruments as well as the commemorative tools of conquest. Still life paintings similarly straddled complementary spheres of early modern colonial culture. Images of sumptuous foods, flowers and tableware celebrated the foreign sources of Dutch wealth for the benefit of art buyers who also dealt in Asian and other imported commodities (Hochstrasser 2007). Like botanical drawings, still life also made a study of exotic novelties gleaned from tropical nature.[1] Early modern appetites for knowledge, pleasure and consumption thus informed the development of still life painting in the same way that maps and topographical views routinely combined art, science and colonial interest.

This chapter examines the ways in which the legacy of early modern artistic traditions persisted well beyond the dissolution of the VOC in 1800, and why modes of picturing with a Golden Age pedigree assumed renewed symbolic significance in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars.[2] I argue that Dutch modes of representing Indies landscapes which first developed in the early modern era provided a valued set of visual conventions during the colonial period for signalling historical claims to Dutch sovereignty over Asian landscapes. Dutch painting had been at its zenith and the Republic at the height of its political and economic influence in Europe during the seventeenth century. Two centuries later, Dutch power in Europe had significantly declined and most of the VOC's former possession had been lost to the British as war reparations. The restoration of the House of Orange in the early nineteenth century coincided with the conversion of remaining former Company settlements into colonial possessions. The Netherlands Indies, one of the last major tropical colonies remaining to the Dutch, became the focus of a nation-building project that sought not only to consolidate but also to expand upon the

traditional bases of Dutch power in Southeast Asia. The visual language of the Golden Age lent cultural gravitas to the celebration of traditional sites of VOC power, as well as to renewed Dutch territorial claims in the Indies that were gathering significant pace in the nineteenth century.

## Mapping expansion: Cartographic traditions in Dutch images of the Indies

Two centuries after the founding of the VOC's capital in the Indies on the northwest coast of Java, a portrait of King Willem I (Figure 1.1) was shipped from the Netherlands to be hung in the Governor-General's palace in Batavia. The image was executed by Joseph Paelinck (1781–1839), a Belgian artist known in early nineteenth-century Europe for his biblical and classical paintings (Coekelberghs 1976:246–51). The portrait shows Willem I, clothed in his royal finery, pointing to a map of Java draped over a table. This scene was painted after a long hiatus in Dutch domination of the Indies following the dissolution of the VOC, largely for financial reasons, in 1800. War and revolution in Europe had also contributed to the demise both of the Company and, more broadly, of Dutch fortunes. Indeed, according to one historian, '[t]he years 1795–1813 formed the singled most ignominious amd inglorious period in the history of The Netherlands' (Rupke 1988:191). The Batavian Republic that existed in this era effectively functioned as a French puppet state. In 1795 the Netherlands had been incorporated into revolutionary greater France, with annexation formalized in 1810. In the interim, Stadhouder Willem V had fled to England and renounced the House of Orange's claim to rule over the Netherlands, and in 1806 the French Louis Bonaparte (1778–1846) was crowned king (Rupke 1988:191; Schama 2005). Willem V also issued what became known as the Kew Letters. These recommended that governors in the Indies and other Dutch overseas settlements submit to British rule rather than risk appropriation by the French (Israel 1998:1127). British governance of the Indies was effective between 1811 and 1816 under the stewardship of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. In 1813 Willem of Orange returned to the Netherlands, this time as its king. Two years later Napoleon Bonaparte was finally defeated. As part of the political reorganization of Europe following the Congress of Vienna, most of the Netherlands' VOC possessions in Asia and Africa were permanently lost to the British. The Indies – or, more accurately, those parts of the archipelago that had been claimed by the VOC – were now Dutch Crown colonies.

In Paelinck's portrait of Willem I, Indies landscapes were represented as having been, literally, drawn into the Netherlands' past through the VOC's former exploits, and thus expressed an historicizing discourse in Dutch colonial art that would be developed by painters over more than a century of colonial rule over the Indies. Ironically, the painting is significant for the boldness with which it

**1** The still lifes and botanical drawings of Albert Eckhout, an artist commissioned to accompany Governor Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen to his post in Dutch Brazil, best exemplify this nexus between art and science in seventeenth-century Dutch visual culture (Buvelot 2004; Brienen 2006:47–72).

**2** The following art historians have also noted the resurrection of seventeenth-century visual modes in the nineteenth century and beyond (Marius 1973:43; De Leeuw 1997:19; Koolhaas and De Vries 1999).

**3** Black 1997:13; Suárez 1999:200–65; Klinghoffer 2006:17, 82–3; Zandvliet 2002b:86–163.

asserts what were in fact *new* Dutch claims to rule the Indies. King Willem is portrayed not as a *stadhouder* (steward), as most of his Orange ancestors had been (with the notable exception of Willem III, King of England and Ireland), but in his constitutional role as supreme ruler of the Netherlands and its far-flung territories. Further, it was only through the very recent transfer of sovereignty from the VOC to the newly-installed Dutch Crown that some of those territores – such as Batavia, Banten and Cirebon, shown on King Willem's map – had come under direct Dutch rule for the first time (Legêne 1998:134). Paelinck's portrait thus commemorated two significant beginnings: first, it celebrated the Netherlands' newfound monarchy, and second, it communicated the reassertion of Dutch sovereignty over the Indies, no longer under the auspices of a trading company but as a colonial power. The map of Java at the centre of the painting was crucial to connecting these themes by utilizing a significant contemporary European device for making claims to territory, one which, as we shall see, was strongly developed in Dutch visual culture. Maps were equally vital to the military, administrative and fiscal requirements of late colonial states as they were to the operations of early modern sea-borne 'empires'.[3] Indeed, European mapping at the turn of the nineteenth century was strongly implicated in the consolidation of modern bureaucracies and nation-states (Harley 1988:183–4; Black 1997:17, 25). Maps of the Indies were important in the context of Paelinck's portrait because, as Kees Zandvliet (2002a:291) has pointed out in his reading of the painting, the real authority of the Crown over the colonies during this period was in fact tenuous in light of gathering rebellions against the Dutch in parts of Java.

Paelinck's portrait of a newly installed Dutch monarch – indeed, a new monarchy – claiming a presence in Asia with the sweep of his hand was an exercise in propaganda that sought, perhaps in vain, to place the Netherlands in the company of more powerful European nations (like Britain, which nurtured an overseas empires inflated with the former possessions of its old rivals). The position of the Netherlands in Europe had been in decline since the late seventeenth century, when the Golden Age of Dutch culture and commerce was beginning to wane (Schama 1991:596–608; Israel 1998:998–1018). In post-Napoleonic Europe, the Netherlands' status was further diminished. It was no accident, therefore, that Java – as one of the last remnants of the VOC's former possessions and hence a source of continuity linking the Netherlands to a more illustrious past – was the subject of Paelinck's map. In

**1.1** Joseph Paelinck, *King Willem I* (1819).

fact, the artist's suggestion that Java might be significant to the Netherlands' future was more portentous than he could have suspected at the time. Between 1825 and and 1830 the Dutch fought a protracted war to subdue the sultanates of Central Java, a conflagration that drew in most of island's east and parts of the north coast as well.[4] After 1830, the island would become vital to the financial recovery of the Netherlands following the Napoleonic Wars, as well as to the expansionary projects that the Dutch would pursue in the Indies from the middle of the nineteenth century onward. The infamous *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system) that was implemented on Java and nearby Madura, whereby peasants were forced to devote a portion of their land and labour to grow export crops at a fixed wholesale price, contributed substantially to Dutch state revenue and helped finance the conquest of the Outer Provinces in the late nineteenth century.[5] The island on the map at the centre of Paelinck's painting, therefore, was of great significance for both the history and the future of the Netherlands at the moment of its reincarnation as a monarchy in modern Europe.

The history of Dutch mapping of the Indies is connected with both the development of painting and with early modern European expansion, a heritage the Dutch shared to some extent with maritime rivals like the Spanish and Portuguese (Gombrich 1987:120). However, the art historian Svetlana Alpers (1983:57–8, 164) has argued that, more so than anywhere else in early modern Europe, mapping was 'a basic mode of Dutch picturing' in keeping with the tendency toward description in Netherlandish painting. During the seventeenth century, the functional and aesthetic distinctions that would eventually separate maps and landscape paintings as visual genres were not as pronounced as they were to become in later centuries. Cartographers were of course in the business of providing information, while painters paid more attention to aesthetic qualities and local character (Alpers 1983:124). However, early modern maps and atlases were often richly embellished with images of local life and landscapes, both real and imagined, particulary when the places depicted were beyond Europe. The equivalence between mapping and painting is also due to the fact that painters and cartographers frequently received comparable training and, perhaps more importantly, that both types of representation were received by Dutch patrons and audiences in similar ways (Alpers 1983:136–7, 142; Zandvliet 2002b:214, 252, 262). The Dutch were among the first in Europe to use maps as decorative wall hangings (Alpers 1983:120). Seventeenth-century patricians displayed maps and atlases in their homes to demonstrate their knowledge of history, politics and economics as well as, more obviously, geography. Maps were also a reminder of the maritime sources of Dutch wealth. When maps of the Indies were not kept secret by the VOC for strategic reasons (Zandvliet 2002b:248–9), they were

**4** Houben 1994:10–5; Carey 2007. The Java War is discussed at greater length in Chapter 3.

**5** Ricklefs 2001:155–60. Ricklefs notes that, by 1831, the cultivation system had yielded sufficient profits to balance the colonial budget. At the height of the scheme, between 1860 and 1866, a staggering 34% of state revenue in the Netherlands was generated from the proceeds of the system, and the Dutch government was able to reduce domestic taxes, build crucial infrastructure, and revive Amsterdam's status as an international trading port.

hung in the homes of businessmen and the palaces of stadhouders, and were prominent in public spaces. Amsterdam's town hall, for example, was adorned with maps to suggest its position at the centre of the world. Maps also graced the walls of VOC and WIC (West India Company) headquarters. East India House in Amsterdam, for instance, contained a painting of Banda Neira, the source of lucrative nutmeg and mace, which had been produced in the studio of the famous cartographer Johannes Vingboons (Zandvliet 2002b:63, 211, 220, 227, 245).

Maps of the Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described Dutch interests as much as they charted landforms, a convention that would cross into other genres like landscape painting during the nineteenth century. The oldest known extant (Scalliet 1999:20) Dutch painting of an Indies landscape, *Birds'-eye view of Ambon* (1617) (Figure 1.2), provides a suitable beginning to

**1.2** *Bird's-eye view of Ambon* (1617)

this tradition, one that positions the Dutch as newcomers who were yet to establish themselves firmly in the region. The painting has traditionally been attributed to David de Meyne and was commissioned by the Heeren Zeventien ('Seventeen Gentlemen', the directors of the VOC) to honour the island's first governor, Frederik de Houtman (1571–1627). It was hung in Amsterdam's East India House (Zandvliet 2002b:242). De Meyne's image summarizes the topography of the island and its pertinence to the VOC as a source of precious cloves, and signals Dutch perceptions of their position as traders in the Moluccas (Maluku), the famed 'spice islands'. The size of European-built defences like Fort Victoria are exaggerated in the image, and the clove trees that drew the Dutch to the island in the first instance are portrayed as impossibly large and clear given the distant perspective adopted. Infrastructure that supported trade was the feature that most concerned Dutch merchants, so that in VOC maps and charts of the Indies like this one, harbour entrances and cities were often shown disproportionately large (Zandvliet 2002b:236). In the early seventeenth century, however, as De Meyne's painting makes evident, the VOC was still far from dominant among other traders in the Moluccas. Asian vessels, including the distinctive Moluccan *kora-kora*, crowded the harbour. European traders in this period still operated in an Asian world, sharing the seas with Chinese and local shipping (Zandvliet 2002a:180; Sutherland 2007:39).

In 1619, only two years after De Meyne's map of Ambon was completed, the Dutch shifted their trading capital from Ambon to Batavia, a bustling port city at the mouth of the Ciliwung river on the northwest coast of Java. Batavia was preferred because of its proximity to trade routes between India and China. By the mid-eighteenth century the Dutch had claimed sovereignty over the north coast of Java, and dominated shipping and trade serving the European market (Knaap 1996:172–3). Images of Batavia, like the one that appears in a 1730 print by Jacob Keyser (Figure 1.3), were beginning to show the mercantile success of the

**1.3** Jacob Keyser, *Batavia* (1730)

Dutch in the region. East Indiamen dominate the harbour, and the 'roads' of Batavia – the canal that channelled ships into the port – are clearly demarcated, drawing the eye into the city that occupies the middle of the picture plane. European buildings dot the skyline: church spires and tall structures like the town hall and citadel were built in styles imported from Holland, a defining feature of VOC settlements throughout the southern hemisphere, from South Africa to Brazil.[6] Behind the city loom the mountains and the hinterland, the source of the wealth that was loaded into the ships in the foreground of the picture.

Paintings and prints like these continued to be the major source of illustrative materials on Indies landscapes in the first half of the nineteenth century, by which time the VOC had been replaced by a colonial regime. In this period, Europeans who were trained in cartography, surveying and technical drawing were highly valued employees in administrative, military and agricultural institutions in the Indies. As we shall see in the following chapters, such men were frequently required to make themselves useful by applying their training to a broad range of visual genres. It was often surveyors, draftsmen and engineers who were responsible for producing the watercolours, drawings, prints and paintings that illustrated colonial reports, treatises and exploration accounts. The emergence of the 'travelling artist' in the late eighteenth century is relevant to understanding the depiction of tropical landscapes in subsequent colonial visual culture. Images made by observers 'on the spot' provided an ostensibly authoritative account of landscapes unfamiliar to European viewers, and contributed to the development of 'a way of seeing, and knowing, in which the tradition of landscape art was fused with a new spirit of observation informed by the experience of voyaging around the world in the company of naval surveyors, meteorologists, and astronomers' (Greppi 2005:24). The empirical role of colonial artists was thus 'enabled by the poetics of landscape that preceded it' (Greppi 2005:40). Indeed, the same draftsmen who made images for scientific publications also drew and painted landscapes for their own amusement, or for exhibition to a broader public. The continuation of cartographic themes in Dutch images of the Indies during the colonial period, long after mapping and painting had become separate visual genres in Europe, can therefore be understood as a response to the demands of an expanding colonial state.

In the nineteenth century, cartography and surveying were crucial tools for Dutch extension into the interiors of established colonies like Java, as well as the relatively unknown territories of the Outer Provinces. Such programmes had their origins in the eighteenth century, when the VOC first began to systematically compile ledger maps of its territories. These maps, pioneered in the colonies before they came into regular use in the Netherlands, were employed to

**6** For discussions of early modern Dutch colonial cities, see Edmundson 1903:642–3, 649; Schellens 1997:204–6; Jayasena 2006:111–28; Zandvliet 2002b:197–201.

demarcate registered land titles for legal and fiscal purposes (Zandvliet 2002b:163). The importance of surveying for extending the reach and revenue of the colonial state was frequently alluded to in illustrative images of Indies landscapes during the nineteenth century. A well-known drawing by J.W.B. Wardenaar, *Het Regentschap Probolinggo met desselvs gebergte aan het strand te zien* (The Regency of Probolinggo with its mountains seen from the beach) (circa 1800) (Figure 1.4), provides an example. The draftsman, Johannes Willem Bartholomeus Wardenaar (1785–1864), was a Dutchman born in Java who trained as an engineer at the Dutch naval college in Semarang. Wardenaar studied and later served with H.C. Cornelius, the man who led the first survey of the ninth-century Hindu-Buddhist temple complex at Prambanan in Central Java between 1805 and 1807 (Zandvliet 2002a:270). Wardenaar's drawing shows a view of Probolinggo in East Java parallel to the coast, alongside which the island's Groote Postweg (Great Post Road), discussed at length in Chapter 2, was soon to be constructed. Wardenaar himself is seen from behind as the top-hatted surveyor. He is shown surrounded by the instruments of his occupation – a desk and chair, scrolls of completed surveys – as well as the markers of his status as a European professional in the tropics: carriage, assistant, and *payong*-bearing servant. The plain before him is strangely vacant, like a blank sheet of paper that will only acquire meaning once it has been 'filled in' with information. Wardenaar's drawing commemorates the processes of European viewing, representation and archiving of Javanese landscapes at the demand of the colonial state.

Cartographic interests often intruded upon images with an overtly picturesque

→
**1.5** Abraham Salm, *In het Tengersche Gebergte, Oosthoek van Java* (mid-nineteenth century)

↓
**1.4** J.W.B. Wardenaar, *Het Regentschap Probolinggo met desselvs gebergte aan de strand te zien* (circa 1800)

or panoramic focus. The mid-nineteenth-century paintings made on Java by the well-known Indies artist Abraham Salm frequently betrayed a navigational inclination (a subject of further scrutiny in Chapter 3). Salm's work drew acclaim from admirers in the Indies and the Netherlands during and after his lifetime. Many of his paintings were selected for show at international colonial exhibitions.[7] In the late nineteenth century Salm's work also reached European audiences through print. Between 1865 and 1872 a volume of chromolithographs after Salm's paintings was published in Amsterdam, and attained considerable popularity in the Netherlands (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:11, 18). His *In het Tengersche Gebergte, Oosthoek van Java* (In the Tenger Highlands, Eastern Salient of Java) (Figure 1.5) shows an artist, possibly Salm himself, together with a companion who surveys a mountainous scene through field glasses (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:62). The historic Dutch fascination in both art and science for manipulating images with lenses (through microscopes and the camera obscura) is evoked here, and expressed in two complementary colonial methods of representing Indies landscapes – painting and surveying.[8] Salm was typical of late nineteenth-century Indies artists in that painting and drawing were leisure pursuits enjoyed alongside his main profession: administration and plantation management. Amateur artists like Salm frequently combined exploration and expansion with an appreciation for landscape art (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:20). Indeed, it is very likely that Salm and other planter-administrators like him were responsible for charting most of Java by the end of the nineteenth century independently of government programmes (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:72). Their maps and paintings frequently performed complementary functions, such as representing and naming conquered territories. The titles of Salm's paintings, for example, often explicitly mentioned Regencies and Residencies, the administrative districts and sub-districts within Dutch-controlled Java. His painted views of Javanese landscapes could be located, much like consulting a map or an atlas, within expanding zones of Dutch authority.

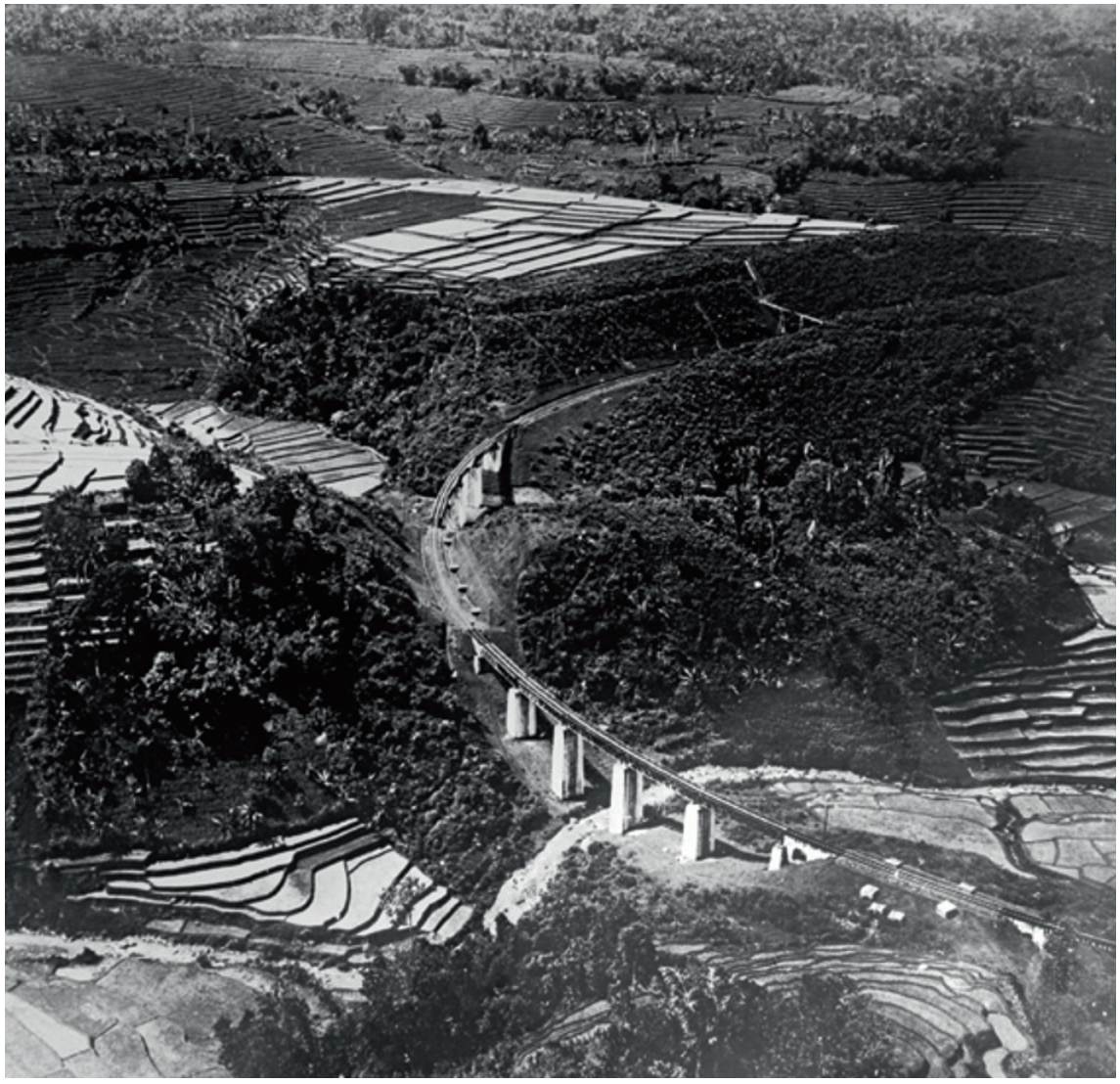
In Salm's own lifetime photography had already begun to transform the realm of possibilities for visual representation. The daguerreotype process was invented in Europe in 1839 and implemented in the Indies soon after on an archaeological survey of Java.[9] Photography as a technology for recording features of the Indies environment quickly supplemented and ultimately replaced the skills that had been monopolized by draftspeople up until the mid-nineteenth century. This changed the nature and meaning of hand-drawn images, particularly paintings. In the Indies, as will become clear in the next two chapters, colonial painting developed as an ultra-conservative art form that eschewed the modernist movements of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Europe. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss how, in

**7** Hamblyn and Chong 1991:14. Thirty of Salm's paintings were shown posthumously at the 1883 Colonial Exposition in Amsterdam.

**8** Art historians have noted the influence of lenses on the development of naturalism and realism in seventeenth-century Dutch painting and, more broadly, European painting up to the late nineteenth century. On the impact of the camera obscura, see Hockney 2001. On the impact of microscopes, see Alpers 1983.

**9** Groeneveld 1989:16. The project was commissioned by the Minister for the Colonies, and undertaken in Central Java in 1840.

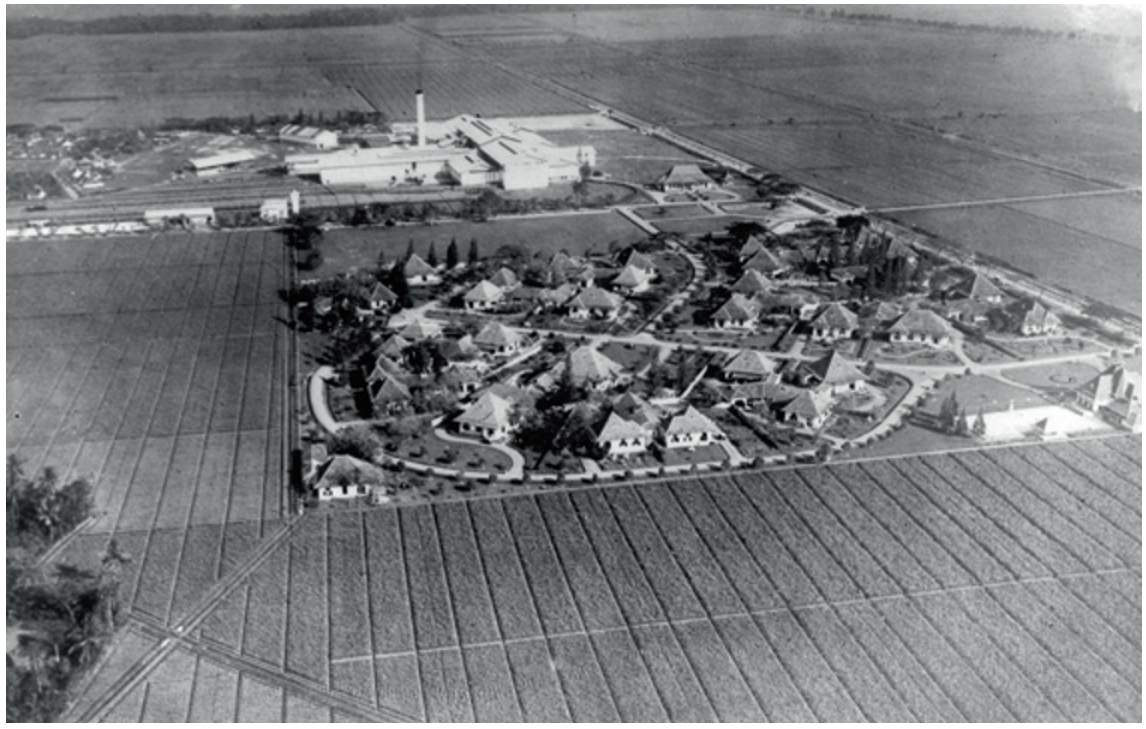
many regards, Indies photography diverged from painting during this period in terms of the kinds of images that these two visual genres produced. However, particularly in its military usages, photography continued the tradition of mapping that had been established as a major mode of representation in the VOC era. In the twentieth century, near the end of Dutch colonial rule, photography was combined with aviation to produce images that precisely replicated the birds'-eye views of the seventeenth century. Two photographs of Javanese landscapes taken in the 1930s serve to illustrate. Both were made in the context of growing Japanese belligerence in Asia leading up to World War Two, no doubt with the aim of documenting the location of important colonial industries and infrastructure. The first photograph was taken in 1938 over Priangan, West Java (Figure 1.6), by the Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Netherlands Indies Army). It comprises an aerial view of terraced fields carved into a mountainside and traversed by a stretch of railroad. Three industrial technologies are embedded in this scene – photography, the aeroplane, and the railroad – and yet the view produced had a three hundred year old history in the Netherlands Indies that began in the age of wind, sail and hand-drawn images. A similar



**1.6** Royal Netherlands Indies Army (Bandung Aviation Division), *Aerial view of railroad and rice field, Priangan, Java* (circa 1935)

effect is created in a photograph of a sugar factory on Java (Figure 1.7), captured from the air in 1935 by the Department of War. The view of a Javanese landscape produced here is almost indistinguishable from a map or a bird's-eye view that might have been composed in the seventeenth century.

Such aerial photographs are of course not unique to views of the Indies. They were, however, a manifestation of the enduring cultural resonance of cartographic images in Dutch traditions of representing Indies landscapes. Indeed, such conventions were so deeply entrenched in Dutch colonial culture that they occasionally transcended visual genres to permeate literary discourses. The work of Maria Dermoût, a writer of colonial fiction, provides an example. Dermoût was active during the 1950s and 1960s, in the period immediately following Indonesian independence from Dutch rule. She was born on Java in 1888, and her family had been in the Indies since the VOC era. Her husband was a Dutch judicial officer whose work encompassed postings throughout the archipelago, often accompanied by his wife and children. Dermoût's novels and short stories were semi-autobiographical evocations of life in the colonial era (Van der Woude 1973; Nieuwenhuys 1999:255–67). Her first novel, *Nog pas gisteren* (Only Yesterday) (1951), recalled her early life on Java using the language of cartography. At the beginning of the story, the protagonist (based on Dermoût) finds herself enchanted as a small child by a 'large oblong map of Java'. 'It was a beautiful map… [T]he sea was blue and all the mountains were blue too.' (Dermoût 1959:4.) Later, when the central character is older and preparing to depart for the Netherlands to complete her education, she reflects on the life that she is leaving behind in the Indies: 'Java and its blue mountains, and the blue sea around it. In the north the Java



**1.7** Department of War, *Aerial view of a sugar factory on Java* (1935).

Sea, in the south the Pacific; to the left the Sunda Strait, to the right the Madura Strait, as they were on the map in the schoolroom.' (Dermoût 1959:118.) In fiction and in memory, it seems, as well as in visual culture, cartographic images of Indies landscapes endured to the very end of the colonial period and beyond.

## Coastlines: Views from the deck of a ship

'Access to the tropics', Denis Cosgrove (2005:201–2) has rightly observed, 'required a voyage: thus, for most Europeans, the initial and often principle site of tropical experience was the deck of a ship', and the coast '– always much more than the traced line of map – was predictably the most intense site for shaping tropical experiences'. Since the late sixteenth century, Dutch journeys to and through Indies landscapes had begun with a long voyage by sea. In the VOC period Europeans arrived on Southeast Asian shores in wooden ships – the famed East Indiamen – at the mercy of sometimes fickle winds. In the early eighteenth century, it took around seven months to sail between the Netherlands and the East Indies (Abeyasekere 1987:19). By the mid-nineteenth century steam-powered ships had begun to frequent Southeast Asian ports. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, passengers aboard steamships like those of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM, Royal Packet Voyage Company) fleet were able to enjoy the fastest voyages to the Indies in history, reduced to a period of several weeks.[10] Early twentieth-century postcards of KPM steamers suggest that these vessels were fondly regarded by colonial travellers as vehicles that enabled the journey eastward.[11] Changes in the technology of sea travel notwithstanding, when the last generations of Dutch colonists sailed into Indies harbours in the early twentieth century, they were replicating a first experience of Indies landscapes that had remained remarkably consistent over a long period of time. Coastlines, the foreign entry (and departure) point to the Indies, were a recurring feature of Dutch journeys through Indies landscapes (Legêne 1998:37, 40).

Writing in the first half of the twentieth century, the Dutch scholar J.C. van Leur was among the first European scholars to critique Eurocentric perspectives of Indies histories. The Dutch, Van Leur observed, placed themselves at the centre of a world defined in terms of European maritime trade, in which pre-existing local systems were marginalized. '[W]ith the arrival of ships from western Europe the point of view is turned a hundred and eighty degrees and from then on the Indies are observed from the deck of a ship, the ramparts of the fortress, the high gallery of the trading house'.[12] Van Leur and many researchers since have corrected the lopsided accounts of Indonesian history that dominated colonial scholarship. However, historians have largely overlooked the literal nature of Van Leur's insightful observation that, for three and a half centuries, the view from the deck of a ship remained paramount

**10** Tagliacozzo 2003:94–5. Steamshipping surpassed wind-powered shipping in Singapore only two years after the opening of the Suez Canal.

**11** See the postcards in De Graaf 1972:28–9; Haks and Wachlin 2004:30, 52, 104.

**12** Van Leur 1967:261. Van Leur's legacy can be inferred in recent works such as Suárez 1999, which includes a chapter entitled 'The view from the deck; Early European maps'.

in Dutch visual representations of the Indies. In doing so, the Dutch consistently singled out for acclaim those landscapes that upheld a colonial cosmology in which a coastal, maritime empire was centrally positioned, in spatial as well as historical terms.

During the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic boasted the largest merchant marine in the world. It was also a highly urbanized society. Unlike other Europeans, most Dutch people lived in towns, and earned a living from trade rather than agriculture (Israel 1998:113–6, 335, 626–30, 864–6). City views were therefore a common seventeenth-century trope for portraying the power and prosperity of Dutch ports, from Enkhuizen to Rotterdam.[13] Marine paintings were extremely popular during this period, as they 'mirrored the prosperity, aspirations, and values of seventeenth-century Holland' (Keyes 1990:1). Around 1606, shortly after the VOC was founded, an *Allegory of Amsterdam as the centre of the world* (Figure 1.8) was painted on the lid of a harpsichord intended for the use of the city organist. Designed by the Haarlem artist Karel van Mander and painted by Pieter Isaacsz, the image serves as a visual emblem of the city at the heart of a wealthy, expanding maritime empire based on trade. Clustered in the foreground of the panel are classical figures symbolizing the city itself. The regal Maid of Amsterdam, shown pointing to a globe, appears in one of her earliest known guises. She was to become a common symbol in seventeenth-century Dutch representations of the city (Hochstrasser 2005:179–80). In this image, the Maid of Amsterdam is figuratively positioned at the centre of the world, upon a high verge from which she overlooks the Indies. In the waters of the midground lies anchored a Dutch East Indiaman. Behind the ship and beside it are combined the two major visual modes of landscape representation that dominated the seventeenth century: a map and a landscape painting. The Indonesian archipelago itself is laid out as a map in the centre of the image. In the left foreground a fantasy landscape of icons representing 'the East' are arranged: palm trees, a temple and a distinguished procession that includes a gold-clad noble shaded from the sun by a servant bearing a *payong* (parasol). In the distance, more East Indiamen crowd the tropical waters.

The cultural perspective organizing the composition of the celebratory *Allegory of Amsterdam as the centre of the world* was regularly maintained in Dutch landscape and marine paintings of the seventeenth century. Domestic marine scenes from this period were often painted from the perspective of a viewer standing on a beach and looking out to sea. Naval battles were frequently viewed from the shore. Even shipwrecks were often shown from the coast, looking out toward the sea that had flung the ships inland.[14] Only the glittering port cities of the Dutch Republic were regularly viewed from the water, the better to display their impressive skylines and merchant fleets. The standard view of the world for seventeenth-century

**13** For an excellent survey of grand port city views and marine paintings from the seventeenth century, see Keyes 1990.

**14** See, for example, Jan Porcellis, *Shipwreck on a beach* (1631) in Keyes 1990:133.

Dutch artists, then, was one that began on the shores of the Netherlands, from whence all wealth and power emanated. Domestic landscapes – Dutch landscapes – always lay at the viewer's back.

This perspective was maintained with striking consistency in paintings that showed Dutch ships venturing abroad. An engraving by Johannes Everardus van Cloppenburg, *View of Bantam showing an attack on the Portuguese fleet in 1601* (1603) (Figure 1.9), provides an insightful example of how the Dutch represented some of their earliest maritime conquests in Asia. The image adopts a bird's-eye view of a naval battle between the Dutch and the Portuguese, fought in 1601 off Banten on the northwest coast of Java. The action of the battle itself, a fray of ships with their cannon firing, takes place in the foreground of the image, while the undulating coastline around Banten forms the distant backdrop. Many pictures of this important victory for the Dutch were made in the Netherlands, all with similar compositional features, and multiple prints of the Van Cloppenburg engraving were

**1.8** Pieter Isaacsz, *Allegory of Amsterdam as the centre of the world* (1606–1607)

published to commemorate the Dutch defeat of the Portuguese (Zandvliet 2002b:69). Van Cloppenburg's image is unique among contemporary images of the battle because the Eurocentric perspective, looking toward the coast from the position of the ships battling in the sea, is reinforced by an insertion at the bottom left-hand corner of the picture. Here the artist included a map to help his viewers geographically locate the site of the conflict. In it, he flouts the northern orientation of maps that had become more or less established in European cartography by this period, where Europe was placed along the top edge of a world map (Klinghoffer 2006:21–2). Rather than follow this convention Van Cloppenburg's map mimics the view of a passenger on board a Dutch vessel departing for Java from Europe. The southern tip of India and Ceylon therefore juts out from the bottom edge of the map. Adjacent to it lies an inverted Sumatra, its northwestern extremity pointing southeast, the way it would have 'appeared' to a ship's crew approaching from the west.

This emphasis on sea-borne approaches

Waerachtighe Afbeeldinghe vanden wonderbaren ende ghedenckwaerdighen Scheeps strijdt ende slagh / welcke in Oost-Indien / int ghesichte van de ver- maerde Coopstadt Bantam ghesciedt is, tusschen vijf

**1.9** Johannes Everardus van Cloppenburg, *View of Bantam showing an attack on the Portuguese fleet in 1601* (1603)

to the Indies, from aboard the deck of a European ship, resulted in views that frequently privileged coastlines and port cities, the original sites of VOC influence in the region and the locus of Dutch power until the early colonial period. Interior landscapes were minimized or only vaguely referred to in such views because the Dutch were unfamiliar with these places. Even on Java, the Dutch effectively governed only the north coast and the western hinterlands of the island until the eighteenth century. Overland transport here remained arduous during this time, with sea links sustaining the greatest traffic (Abeyasekere 1987:42–3). It was not until after 1830 that the sultunates of Central Java, at the political and geographical heart of the island, were nominally subjugated by the Dutch. Colonial knowledge of and interest in the landscapes beyond the coastlines of other islands in the archipelago developed even later. Sumatra's interior long remained a mystery to the Dutch. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the 'wilderness' here was 'thought to commence just a few miles from shore'.[15] Even the plantations that were established during the 1860s were initially restricted to the lowlands of the east coast. Bali, though immediately adjacent to East Java, was relatively unknown to the Dutch for most of the colonial period. Though the Dutch had secured a foothold in the north of the island during the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1908 that the remainder of Bali was brought under colonial rule. In keeping with the traditional modus operandi of colonial power in the region, the subjugation campaign was launched not from land bases, but from the beach at Sanur on the island's east coast.

Largely because of their difficult terrain, Europe's mountainous interiors were equally beyond the purview of most explorers until the mid nineteenth century (Black 1997:13–4, 25). Such landscapes were viewed with foreboding until the late eighteenth century when, with the advent of Romanticism, mountains and other dramatic features became the subject of European painting, poetry and literature as examples of the sublime or picturesque (Nicolson 1959; Glacken 1967:713). By contrast, early modern Southeast Asian centres of power and wealth were often located in mountainous hinterlands. The histories of Java, Bali and Sumatra reveal numerous instances of powerful kingdoms situated in such environments, most notably the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram and the central Sumatran kingdom of Minangkabau. Here, states were commonly defined by their centres rather than their borders, and government authority was thought to decline as the distance from these interiors increased (Suárez 1999; Klinghoffer 2006:19). In some instances, as Jane Drakard's study (1999) of the Minangkabau kingdom in Sumatra has demonstrated, the isolation of interior kingdoms ensured that they retained an aura of mystique among the Dutch until well into the nineteenth century.

Religious differences also informed

**15** Noted by E.M. Beekman (1996:135), in his discussion of colonial perceptions of wilderness in 'Junghuhn's perception of Javanese nature'.

indigenous perspectives on mountainous landscapes. In the Hindu-Buddhist cosmologies of South and Southeast Asia, mountains were at the centre not only of local polities, but of the spiritual universe. Such perspectives on the relationship between mountains and kingship persisted in the Islamic sultanates of Central Java throughout the colonial period and, indeed, to the present day. Here and in Hindu Bali, kingship frequently resided symbolically in the image of the mountain, an axis which held heaven and earth in place and which was often physically marked out with a temple (Wright 1994:38, 40–3; Suárez 1999:20). When Javanese kings died, it was believed that their spirits would return to their ancestors on the mountain, and their tombs thereafter became sites of pilgrimage (Jessup 1991:223). Some of the batik patterns that were once reserved for the exclusive use of the Central Javanese aristocracy – such as the *alas-alasan* (forest pattern) motif and the *semen* (sprouting vines) pattern – often contained the sacred mountain as part of a landscape filled with birds and animals, shrines, ponds, and trees (Maxwell 1990:199; Wright 1994:36). Commoners were also alert to a mountain's warning when a king no longer enjoyed a divine mandate. The eruption of volcanoes in Indonesia has often been associated with inauspicious times and political upheaval. In 1963, for example, when Mount Agung on Bali erupted, it was viewed by many Balinese as a sign of cosmic imbalance because it coincided with a major ceremony that was to be held at the Pura Besakih temple, as well as with plagues and crop failures (Robinson 1995:17). As Astri Wright (1994) has demonstrated, contemporary Indonesian artists continue to be inspired by the religious and cultural symbolism of the mountain. From Indonesian historical and cultural perspectives, then, the locus of early Dutch influence in the Indies was curiously inverted relative to those of indigenous populations, focused on the archipelago's island rims and in some cases, ignorant of the very existence of alternative inland worlds.

Even when expansion and exploration enabled the filling in of some blanks in Dutch awareness of Indies interiors, coastal views retained an important position in Dutch images of the tropics. Indeed, Dutch painters, draftsmen, and photographers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently memorialized the coastal landscapes that recalled the historical foundations of the colonial state. Throughout the nineteenth century, images of colonial port cities continued to foreground clusters of Dutch ships among smaller Asian ships, anchored before European-style townships and dotted with palms to locate the image in the tropics, with perhaps a shadow of distant mountains visible in the background.[16]

Nowhere was this colonial proclivity for the coast more strongly established than in representations of the Moluccas, particularly Ambon and Banda, two miniature archipelagos with an important place in the history of Dutch colonisation of

**16** See, for example, images in Bastin and Brommer 1979, Plate 124, *De reede van Padang* (The roadstead at Padang) by P. Lauters after C.W.M. van de Velde in *Gezichten uit Neerlands Indië* (Views from the Netherlands Indies) (Amsterdam, 1843–45); Plate 135, *Gezicht op het fort en de stad van Amboina 1847* (View of the fort and the town of Amboina 1847) by C.W. Mieling after L.J. van Rhijn in *Reis door den Indischen archipel, in het belang der evangelische zending* (Journey through the Indies archipelago, in the interest of the evangelical mission) (Rotterdam, 1849–51).

the Indies. The Portuguese, who dominated the European spice trade for most of the sixteenth century, were the first Europeans to attempt a conquest of the Moluccas (Andaya 1993:56). The Dutch, eager to gain their share of the trade, began to assert their own interests in the region from 1599, when the second merchant fleet to the Indies was launched with Banda as its destination. Nutmeg and mace from Banda and cloves from Ambon became significant sources of the VOC's wealth in Asia during the first decades of the seventeenth century. A Dutch monopoly over spice production and trade was introduced on these islands in 1652 (Ricklefs 2001:75). The monopoly was never completely successful, since it was impossible to police the cultivation of 'illegal' crops across the entire region and local merchants often evaded Dutch embargoes by using trade routes unfamiliar to the VOC (Andaya 1993:201, 205). Nevertheless, the Dutch managed to extract a substantial profit from the system. In the late eighteenth century, when the spice trade and the VOC were already in decline, the Banda islands alone still generated over a million guilders in profit per annum (Hanna 1978:85).

By the colonial period, however, the relative importance of spices in Dutch trade had drastically declined.[17] Export volumes decreased, due in part due to competition from growers elsewhere, and Banda actually became a drain on colonial finances, particularly the defensive garrison that was maintained at Fort Belgica (Hanna 1978:114–5, 120). According to Leonard Andaya (1993:45), the economic decline of the Moluccas had already been evident in the VOC era, when it was regarded by Dutch administrators as 'a peripheral outpost, even a place of exile'. The Dutch monopoly over the spice trade, which had been carried on by the colonial government since the VOC's dissolution, officially ended in 1873 (Hanna 1978:116). By the 1890s places like Banda had become, in the words of one observer, 'een dode stad' (a dead town) (Nieuwenhuys 1999:83).

It was the historical importance of the Moluccas that ensured them a continuing position in Dutch images of Indies coastal landscapes long after the decline of the spice trade. Ambon occupied a particularly special place in Dutch colonial visual culture as the inspiration for some of the great texts that formed the cornerstones of colonial science and literature. Examples include Georg Everhard Rumphius' *D'Amboinsche rariteitkamer* (1705) (The Ambonese curiosity cabinet) and *Het Amboinsch kruidboek* (1697) (The Ambonese book of herbs), as well as François Valentijn's *Oud en nieuw Oost Indiën* (Old and new East Indies) (1724–1726), parts of which were plagiarized from Rumphius (Andaya 1993:20; Beekman 1999:xxxv–cxii). The views of Kota Ambon completed by Antoine Payen in his role as official artist during the Reinwardt expeditions of the mid-1820s provide examples of how early nineteenth-century images of the island adhered to a time-worn tradition of focusing on Ambon's colonial port city at the expense

**17** The economic historian Jan O.M. Broek (1942: 42, 50), writing in the early 1940s, noted that 'it appears certain that the Moluccas will never again play a major role in the world market' because of their relative lack of arable land, their distance from major shipping routes, and the boom in the Outer Provinces, where demand for petroleum, oil and rubber, among other products, rapidly expanded in the first half of the twentieth century.

**18** See the images of Ambon by Payen in Scalliet 1995; Terwen-De Loos 1972:56.

**19** For similar photographs of Moluccan coastal views from the studio of Woodbury & Page, see *Ternate looking toward Tidore* (1860s), in Nieuwenhuys 1982:80; *Banda township with Gunung Api in the background* (circa 1875), in Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:435; *Lontar looking toward Gunung Api and Banda Neira* (1868) and a photograph, taken in the same year, of Kota Ambon from Batu Merah, in Wachlin 1994:135 and 139 respectively.

of other parts of the island.[18] Further, Payen's view of *The coast of Ambon from Batu Merah* (1836) (Figure 1.10) bears a remarkable similarity to a photograph produced in 1868 by the well-known studio of Woodbury & Page (Figure 1.11). Both visual genres adopt an almost identical perspective of Ambon from a lofty position that places the coast and a harbour full of ships at the centre of the picture.[19]

The continuous focus on coastal colonial settlements, Dutch vessels in Moluccan harbours, and the fortresses that had once defended Dutch bases against both European

**1.10** Antoine Payen, *The coast of Ambon from Batu Merah* (1836)

and Asian rivals is significant considering the small size of Ambon and Banda compared to larger colonies with vaster hinterlands and more impotant economies, such as Java and Sumatra. Even though the mountainous hinterland often looms large over coastal townships in images of the Moluccas, those landscapes always remained vague and distant in Dutch images, carefully counterbalanced by an equivalent extent of ocean dotted with European ships. The emphasis on coastal settlements suggests an emptiness in the hinterland that was no more an accurate reflection of reality in the Moluccas than it was in Java, Bali or Sumatra. Certainly, many Moluccans lived on coastal plains, made fertile by the frequent volcanic activity of the region. Colonialism also stimulated a population drift from the hinterland to the coast, where economic opportunities were concentrated. But in the nineteenth century most Moluccans still lived in hinterlands, environments which are barely referred to in Dutch views (Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:437, 462). When Europeans did portray mountain people, like the Alfuru of Ambon, it was rarely in their own surroundings, but rather in staged images that emphasized their primitiveness and savagery.[20] Changes in the technology of visual representation, then, brought few modifications to the perspective that Dutch colonists adopted toward coastal landscapes.

### Still lifes: The abundant tropics

While recent studies of early modern Dutch still lifes abound, many commenting on imperial themes in these images, none to date have examined the persistence of the genre in

**1.11** Woodbury & Page, *Bay of Ambon with a mosque in the right-hand foreground* (1868)

a modern colonial context.[21] This represents a significant oversight by historians, given that the popularity of still life images in the Netherlands Indies during the nineteenth century signifies, at first glance, one of the most striking continuities between the visual forms of the Dutch Golden Age and those of the colonial period. The composition and style of still life paintings and even photographs from the Indies remained remarkably similar to the images that were made in the Low Countries during the seventeenth century. However, in the Indies the subject matter of still lifes consistently favoured fruits over the more diverse range of items that featured in Golden Age paintings, among them flowers and tableware. Tropical still lifes, while retaining the form of seventeenth-century images, differed substantially in meaning from their predecessors. While Golden Age still lifes frequently reflected georgic discourses on human mastery over nature, where physical and cultural labour made the earth productive, Indies still lifes with fruit contributed to a pastoral discourse that construed the abundance of the tropics as evidence of the need for colonial intervention in tropical nature.

Despite the popular regard for still life as a genre of painting in the seventeenth century, critics viewed it as among the lowliest themes in art, ranked somewhere between genre scenes and landscapes (Jansen 1999:51–8). However, in recent decades still life has been the subject of some of the most intense debates in Golden Age art history. Scholars have moved beyond early interpretations of the genre, which commonly construed still life either as the purest expression of the Dutch seventeenth-century ideal of achieving naturalism in painting, or, alternately, as images best understood using an iconological approach that revealed the moral imperatives concealed within the objects of still life painting (De Jongh 1997, 1999:200–23). More recent studies foreground the historical context in which these images circulated. These emphasize that still life emerged as a specialist genre of painting in the Netherlands at the same time that its trading empire grew significantly. Flower pieces and *pronk-stilleven* (sumptuous still lifes that featured costly items) in particular have been singled out as illustrations of the close association between art, culture, science and early modern Dutch overseas expansion (Brusati 2005:146; Grootenboer 2005:15–6). The historically unprecedented wealth generated by Dutch trade during the first half of the seventeenth century, together with the absence of a traditional aristocracy who might have diverted that wealth for their own purposes, left ordinary Dutch people to enjoy an extraordinary standard of living by contemporary European norms. Still life painting reflected this prosperity. Luxury goods like tulips and carpets from the Ottoman world, porcelain from China, shells and spices from the East and West Indies, and fruits from the Mediterranean were evidence of a pre-industrial commodity fetishism at work in the Netherlands that

**20** For an example of such a photo see Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:446. The image of 'An Alfuru from Ceram', taken by an unknown observer around 1910, shows a man posing in traditional warrior dress in a studio. See also the novel set in Ambon by Dermoût (1958:74), in which Alfuru are portrayed as murderous barbarians.

**21** See the studies by Bryson 1990; Brusati 2005; Grootenboer 2005; Hochstrasser 2007a, 2007b.

was sustained by an increasingly lucrative seaborne empire (Bryson 1990: 104, 124, 127, 129; Brusati 2005:144; Grootenboer 2005:15–6). The visual space that these objects occupied in still life compositions was therefore, as Norman Bryson (1990:105) has argued in his important study of the genre, at once 'centripetal' and 'distilled': still life paintings represented objects collected from all corners of the VOC trading empire and concentrated in the 'sovereign space' of the metropole.

The association Bryson draws between still life and collecting illuminates connections between artistic and scientific practices in early modern Dutch culture; in particular, how ideas about the relation between nature and culture developed in the context of overseas expansion. Still life painting has important features in common with collecting among European elites in the early modern era. As Beth Fowkes Tobin (2005) has cogently argued, collecting was a practice that represented nature in fragments, as objects that could be removed from their original cultural, ecological and economic contexts, stripped of their functions, reordered, and recontextualized within a system of European cultural meanings (see also Baudrillard 1994:7–8). As well as communicating European scientific expertise and mastery over the world's resources, European collections of plants and objects gleaned from foreign landscapes signalled elite status among those who had the time, money, education and social networks to indulge their interests (Tobin 2005:171, 183). In the Indies during the colonial period, collecting seems to have been similarly regarded as a genteel pursuit. Several high-ranking Dutch officials in the colonial bureaucracy maintained collections of shells and botanical samples, among them Nicolaas Engelhard, Governor of Java's North Coast (1801–1808), and Governor-General Van der Capellen, sponsor of the Reinwardt expeditions in the 1820s (Scalliet 2001:349; Zandvliet 2002a:269).

**1.12** *East Indies market stall* (mid-seventeenth century)

Given that current interpretations of still life give considerable emphasis to the early colonial context in which this genre flourished, it is surprising that most studies continue to focus on examples from the Low Countries during the Golden Age. Little has been written on still life as a genre that was practiced in the colonies, one that flourished well into the nineteenth century. The thematic importance of abundance in both Dutch seventeenth-century paintings, a topic also common to European discourses of the tropics, provides an important entry into a comparison of domestic and colonial still lifes. Europeans who journeyed to Southeast Asia from the sixteenth century onwards frequently commented on the exuberance of tropical nature, and the apparent ease with which the earth seemed to be made productive in equatorial regions (Savage 1984:69–112; Arnold 1996:145, 2006:7). Such observations were frequently invoked to justify various forms of colonial exploitation, from slavery to indentured labour. Natives of Asia, it was argued, were spoiled by the abundance of the tropics and had no incentive to developed sophisticated agricultural systems and, by extension, 'modern' societies. Europeans, by contrast, were accustomed to a harsher climate that required industry and innovation in order to be made fruitful, which in turn propelled Europeans to higher stages of civilization. In order for the tropics to attain the same level of development, proponents of such arguments maintained, they would have to be subjected to European colonial rule (Alatas 1977).

**1.13** Jan Daniël Beynon, *Still life with fruits* (before 1945)

In the colonial repertoire of still lifes from the Indies, the concerted emphasis on

fruits upheld the notion of abundance and exoticism in European views of the tropics. In seventeenth-century paintings of the Indies, rich displays of tropical fruit were often embedded within more lively genre scenes that frequently centred around markets and sometimes contained strong narrative elements. These early paintings combined social observation with information on the flora of the Indies. *East Indies market stall* (Figure 1.12), formerly attributed to Albert Eckhout, provides a detailed view of the produce available in such a market using some of the techniques associated with still life painting in the Netherlands. These included employing a triangular composition that leads the eye upward, and showing cross-sections of fruits. Eckhout used similar devices in his better known paintings of the landscapes and peoples of Brazil when it was briefly a Dutch colony in the first half of the seventeenth century (Buvelot 2004). Eckhout was the first European painter in Brazil to make such images from life, but he never travelled personally to Java in order to paint the *East Indies market stall* (Zandvliet 2002a:183). This has not adversely affected the quality of the painting, in which attention to botanical detail is combined with a talent for social observation. The Indies scene meticulously displays a range of tropical fruits which are listed by name in the bottom left hand corner of the picture. A didactic purpose is therefore evident, one that is made entertaining by the narrative the painting tells of a Chinese stall keeper who is being cheated by one of his assistants, seen in the background stealing a banana while his employer sees customers. The theme of thieving servants recurs in other images of seventeenth century Indies life, notably Jacob Coeman's 1665 painting of *Pieter Cnoll and his family* in Batavia.[22]

In keeping with the renewal of European interest in Dutch seventeenth-century art in the nineteenth century, Indies art witnessed a revival of the classical still life during the colonial period. One of the finest examples is by Jan Daniël Beynon (1830–1877), an Indo-European painter based in Batavia. His *Still life with fruits* (1872) (Figure 1.13) is one of two still lifes known to have been painted by Beynon, and is among some of the largest known examples of the genre from the Indies (Scalliet 1999:75, note 144). Perhaps Beynon's confidence can be attributed to his training. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Beynon was a professional painter with his own studio on the illustrious Molenvliet, one of Batavia's more prestigious canals. He had been schooled at the Royal Academy for Art in Amsterdam between 1848 and 1855 under the tutelage of the renowned painters Cornelis Kruseman (who also mentored Raden Saleh and Hubertus Nicolaas Sieburgh) and Nicolaas Pieneman (who, together with Raden Saleh, produced a history painting on one of the Indies most renowned subjects, the arrest of the Javanese rebel-prince, Diponegoro) (Scalliet 1999:72–4; Zandvliet 2002a:388). Little is known of Beynon's life, except that his career as a painter appears to

**22** For a compelling recent interpretation of this portrait, including the depiction of the slaves in the background, see Taylor 2006:38–40.

have been moderately successful. His works, which consisted largely of Javanese landscape paintings, scenes from rural life, and portraits, were exhibited in the Netherlands, including the 1883 Amsterdam Colonial Exhibition, throughout the middle and late nineteenth century.

Beynon's 1872 *Still life* demonstrates his painterly skills, particularly evident in his use of colour, light and surface reflections, techniques much employed by the *fijnschilders* of the seventeenth century. Unlike the early modern market scene (Figure 1.12), and more in keeping with the *pronk-stilleven* by seventeenth-century painters in the Low Countries, fruits are the sole focus of Beynon's painting. These are arranged in the familiar triangular composition of most still lifes and some are sliced open, much in the same way that fruits and plants were frequently bisected in botanical drawings. Rather than showing lemons, grapes, and other staples of the seventeenth-century Dutch still life, however, Beynon's painting features the fruits of the tropics – bananas, mangos, watermelon, rambutan, durian, pineapple, and coffee beans, among others.

Similar images, albeit in monochrome, persisted in the commercial photographs that were popular in the late colonial Indies. No doubt it was the 'stillness' of a still life that appealed to early photographers, when aperture speeds were slow and any movement tainted an exposure with blurs and streaks. The subject matter also made for a perfect souvenir of the tropical Indies. Around 1865 Isidore van Kinsbergen, an accomplished photographer, set designer and amateur archaeologist, produced a photograph of Indies fruits piled before a wicker screen hung with game birds (Figure 1.14).[23] In the same period the studio of Woodbury & Page also produced elaborate still life images staged on carpeted tables or against curtained backdrops in styles that directly evoked

↘
**1.15** Woodbury & Page, *Still life with tropical fruits, probably in Batavia* (1860–1865)

↓
**1.14** Isidore van Kinsbergen, *Fruit and game in Batavia* (circa 1865)

seventeenth-century paintings (Figure 1.15). One such photograph, produced in the 1860s, shows a cornucopia of fruits and flowers grouped in ascending baskets and vases.[24] A later Woodbury & Page image, from 1879, shows items piled high upon a bench, with a curtain draped across the left-hand side of the picture adding a flourish to the scene. Seed-laden cross sections, fleshy bulges and thorny skins are accompanied by the tusk of an elephant or rhinoceros poking into a cluster of rambutan to add a note of exotic interest (Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:112).

The theme of tropical abundance in colonial still life is equally upheld by notable absences, such as the paucity of flowers in such images. Flower pieces of the kind common in seventeenth-century Dutch painting do not seem to exist in the Indies repertoire. Even orchids, the most celebrated flower of the tropics, rarely feature prominently in Indies still lifes. Their consistent absence is significant, given the association of flowers with georgic themes in seventeenth-century painting from the low countries. In Dutch still lifes, flower pieces were a celebration of human labour through the cultivation of nature, as well as in the intellectual and cultural work that was required of artists to bring images of nature to life, as it were, on canvas in the first instance, and of clients to appreciate the finished product. Norman Bryson points out that Dutch flower pieces rarely showed blooms that were indigenous to or grew wild in the Netherlands. Rather, most were costly exotics imported from distant lands, showing the labour of collection, transportation and cultivation. Since the emphasis in flower pieces was on the diversity of specimens, paintings – particularly the meticulously detailed *pronk-stilleven* – were often extraordinarily time-consuming to execute. Painters often worked from botanical sketches of such flowers (revealing the doubled effort of recording images), knowledge inferred from the fact that the blooms displayed together often flowered in different seasons (showing the symbolic labour of liberating humans from the rhythms of nature). Finally, both the flowers and the paintings that represented them were costly (paid for by remunerated work) and subject to connoisseurship (intellectual labour). A single flower piece therefore evoked a range of labours that did not celebrate nature so much as human mastery over it. Pleasure in seventeenth-century Dutch still life, Bryson has written, 'is disavowed, hidden by production; what replaces it is strain, effort and the work imperative'.[25]

This 'work imperative' is not represented in colonial still lifes from the Indies, where the focus is more commonly on fruit rather than on either the cultivars favoured by botanical centres or even those export crops upon which the colonial economy was built. With the exception of the coffee beans that are displayed in Beynon's painting, the kinds of fruits that appear in Indies still lifes were typically the products of indigenous smallholdings, grown for personal consumption or the domestic market (Pelzer

**23** On Van Kinsbergen's life and careeer, see Theuns-de Boer and Asser 2005.

**24** Woodbury & Page (1860–1865), *Stilleven met tropische vruchten, vermoedelijk te Batavia*. KITLV, Leiden, Album 120, inv. no. 75275.

**25** Bryson 1990:110; and more generally Bryson 1990:104–10; Brusati 2005:145, 148.

1948:18, 43–5; Elson 1986:59–60; Whitten and Whitten 1999:88). In Dutch colonial art from the Indies, therefore, still lifes with fruit were a reflection on the 'natural' rather than the 'cultivated' abundance of the tropics; on pastoral notions of human relationships to nature, where labour plays a mininal role, rather than on georgic themes, which celebrate human interventions in nature (Bryson 1990:21, 104). The emphasis on pastoral themes in Dutch images of Indies landscapes and nature in the colonial period is a topic that will be returned to again at length in Chapter 3. The general silence of colonial painters on Asian labour and commercial plantations – the real sources of colonial wealth – was an omission that featured regularly in Dutch art from the Indies, including in the simple still life.

## Conclusions

The legacy of VOC-era modes of engaging with and representing Indies landscapes was evident in a wide variety of visual images made by nineteenth- and twentieth-century painters, draftsmen and photographers. These continuities in colonial representations of the Indies functioned, in various ways, to historicize Dutch contact with the Indies. Map-like images and topographical coastal views established Dutch territorial claims to sovereignty over Indies lands that extended back to the seventeenth century. Techniques associated with modes of painting that were in their heyday during the seventeenth century further legitimized the colonial project, particularly in the early nineteenth century when the Netherlands' status as a European nation was much diminished and its colonial ambitions were in a process of renewal. References to the visual conventions of Golden Age painting alluded to the former cultural and economic greatness of the Netherlands, which had only tenuously survived the tumult of the late eighteenth century, in its possession of the Indies. During the colonial period, Dutch visual culture played an important role in celebrating the former glory of a much diminished trading empire and legitimizing the grounds for future colonial expansion. Hence, even in late nineteenth-century photographs, painterly techniques recalling the Golden Age remained popular among Dutch artists in the Indies.

The continuity of popular Dutch modes of depicting Indies landscapes and nature across the VOC and colonial eras illuminates two important themes in colonial attitudes toward the Indies that will be developed in the following chapters. One is the Dutch emphasis on features of commercial and strategic interest in colonial representations of Indies landscapes. The other is the tendency for those interests to be concealed within artistic conventions that appear to celebrate the beauty of Indies environments while simultaneously erasing colonial intervention and maintaining a justification for Dutch rule. Undisturbed landscapes – fertile and prosperous, exotic and rusticly simple – formed the common ideal underlying Dutch images of Indies environments.

CHAPTER TWO

# Narratives of expansion

## Colonial landscape images and empire building

Throughout the nineteenth century, Dutch painters and photographers recorded sundry environmental transformations to Indies landscapes that constituted the practical work of empire building. In the early colonial period, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, these images represented the consolidation of Dutch possessions and the extension of Crown sovereignty over Indies landscapes. Among the most prolific and enduringly popular images of this era were those that featured either the Post Road or the Botanic Garden at Buitenzorg. The former, constructed between 1808 and 1811, was a highway that spanned the length of Java's northern coast. The latter, established in 1817, was situated beside the palace that had been used by Dutch rulers since the mid-eighteenth century as an alternative residence ouside the colonial capital, Batavia. Both landmarks became closely associated in official painting with the institution of the governor-general, and therefore with the seat of Dutch political power in the Indies. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, images of the Post Road and the Botanic Garden began to reach a wider audience, both in the Indies and in Europe, through illustrated books, literary accounts and photographs. By the end of the century, the road and the garden had become iconic images that celebrated the introduction of civilization and modernity to the tropics under the colonial regime.

Images of infrastructure and expansion thus justified the necessity for colonial rule by advertising good works that brought ostensible improvements to the Indies, a view that became more pressing in the late nineteenth century among Dutch officials keen to represent the colonial government as progressive. The rhetoric of Dutch benevolence was given a filip in 1901 with the introduction of the Ethical Policy, which made Native welfare a formal cornerstone of colonial rule. The policy was formulated in response to growing official concerns, in the Netherlands as well as the Indies, over criticism from a variety of sources (including but not limited to nationalist organizations) that Dutch motives for rule of the Indies appeared to be governed primarily by the Netherlands' interests. Indeed, between 1870 and 1942 Dutch military expansion throughout the archipelago accelerated in concert with a general liberalization of the colonial economy. One of the Outer Provinces most profoundly affected by aggressive Dutch expansion during this period was Sumatra. Aceh, at the northern tip of the island, was subjected to a protracted military invasion. The lowlands of the the east coast Deli region (and, to a lesser extent, the west coast) were transformed to make way for plantation agriculture. The visual narratives of Dutch empire building in the late colonial period were therefore fraught with growing tension, not least because of the radical interventions in the natural environment that agricultural expansion entailed. Positive accounts of Dutch empire-building on the frontier zones of the Netherlands Indies assumed a new importance in this context. Images of transport developments, notably bridges and railways, not only represented the

spatial extension of Dutch control over Indies lands; they also helped sustain a discourse of benevolent rule, whereby Dutch colonists symbolically exchanged political legitimacy for bringing modernity and prosperity to their Native subjects.

Each late-colonial image-maker may not necessarily have had imperial propaganda at the forefront of their minds when they raised their cameras or put pencil to paper. However, triumphalist discourses of colonial expansion were deeply embedded in Dutch (and more broadly, European) colonial culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such attitudes informed official (and unofficial) policies in the Indies, and significantly infused aspects of cultural life, including visual culture.

In the context of burgeoning political challenges to the colonial regime, visual images of empire building took on new significance, contributing to an emerging patriotic sentiment that aimed to justify creole and Indo-European claims to land. Literary representations of transport infrastructure and plantations on Sumatra illuminate how visual images of empire-building were embedded within broader cultural discourses of colonial benevolence in the late-colonial period. Literary sources also provide valuable insights into an emerging rhetoric of settler patriotism in the late colonial era. In so-called frontier regions like Sumatra, imaginative claims to land were couched in georgic notions of toil, whereby settler rights were earned through radical transformations to the tropical environment. Such claims were defensively constructed against Native entitlements to land ownership, which were endorsed (if not always upheld) by legal reforms from the 1870s onwards. Dutch narratives of empire-building in the late-colonial period therefore configured European settlers and their descendants as legitimate stakeholders in the colonial soil.

## Engineering natural order: The botanic garden at Buitenzorg and the office of the governor-general

The first botanic garden in Southeast Asia was established by the Dutch at Buitenzorg, West Java, in 1817. It was one of the chief projects undertaken by the naturalist Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773–1854) during his six-year sojourn in the Indies (Scalliet 1999:42–3). The 's Lands Plantentuin was designed according to principles of taxonomy that had first been developed in Leiden during the seventeenth century and were subsequently influential in the establishment of similar gardens in Oxford, Paris and Edinburgh (Prest 1981:6, 10, 45). It was during the age of early-modern European expansion that such gardens began to diverge, in purpose and function, from the royal and religious gardens of Christian Europe and Hindu-Buddhist or Islamic Southeast Asia. Like other colonial botanic gardens, Buitenzorg was used by the Dutch as an agricultural laboratory to test the commercial and medicinal uses of indigenous plants, and to trial the transfer and acclimatization of specimens between colonies. As Richard Grove and others have shown, gardens like Buitenzorg were therefore crucial nodes in transnational networks of scientific, commercial and intellectual exchange between Europe and the colonial world (Holttum 1970:709; Grove 1995; Pysenson and Sheets-Pyenson 2000:158; Cook 2007).

While much has been written on the role of botanic gardens in the history of European imperialism, very little analysis of their representation in colonial art has been carried out. A better understanding of how such landscapes were represented in European visual culture enables a more thorough appreciation of their historic role in European expansion. In the Indies, Dutch painters and draughtspeople were virtually silent on the scientific and commercial uses of Buitenzorg gardens, emphasizing instead their function as a site (indeed, the centre) of colonial order and civilization imposed upon the tropics.

'Buitenzorg' (now known by its Sundanese name, Bogor) means 'without care' in Dutch, a label which refers to the early significance of the region as a colonial retreat from Batavia, the capital on the northwest coast of Java. Buitenzorg was the oldest European hill station in colonial Asia, pre-dating even the British retreats established in India during the early nineteenth century (Spencer and Thomas 1948:640; Crosette 1998:190). As Susan Abeyasekere (1987:43–4, 54–5) and Jean Gelman Taylor (1983:52–6) have detailed in

their histories of the city, Batavia's exclusive southern suburbs developed as part of the protracted exodus of European elites from the old town into the countryside. Senior VOC officials had been making the journey south from Batavia, the hot, malarial city at the swampy mouth of the Ciliwung river, to the cooler, mountainous interior since the mid-eighteenth century. The first governor-general to build a palace at Buitenzorg was Gustaaf Willem baron van Imhoff, but it was not until the early nineteenth century that officials began to take up permanent residence there.[1] The transfer of the seat of Dutch colonial power to Buitenzorg and the establishment of the botanic garden there were thus roughly contemporaneous developments, related to the reassertion of Dutch power on Java following the dissolution of the VOC in 1800 and the exit of the British from the island in 1816.

The Dutch claim for colonial sovereignty over Java is most clearly demonstrated in two portraits of governors-general by the Javanese Romantic painter Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (1811–1880).[2] His portraits of Jean Chrétien Baud (Figure 2.1) (1789–1859, reign 1833–1835) and Johannes graaf van den Bosch (Figure 2.2) (1780–1844, reign 1830–1833) directly affiliated the botanic garden at Buitenzorg with the office of the governor-general. Raden Saleh's two portraits were completed in 1835 and 1836 respectively, following a devastating earthquake in 1834 that virtually destroyed the Buitenzorg palace. After the quake the residence was rebuilt on the same grounds, this time only one story high instead of two in order to better withstand future tremors (Zandvliet 2002b:297). Baud had been at the helm when the earthquake struck, and thus Raden Saleh's portrait of him before the

↙
**2.1** Raden Saleh, *Jean Chrétien Baud* (1835)

↓
**2.2** Raden Saleh, *Johannes graaf van den Bosch* (1836).

backdrop of Buitenzorg perfectly symbolized the perserverance and fortitude of Dutch rule in the dangerously unpredictable tropical environment. Van den Bosch, on the other hand, might more appropriately have been placed before a coffee plantation, since he was the architect of the infamous cultivation system on Java. As discussed in Chapter 1, the cultivation system was controversial in the nineteenth century because Javanese peasants were compelled by the colonial government to devote a portion of their land and labour to producing export crops, most of the revenues from which were retained by the Dutch treasury. That Raden Saleh chose to situate Van den Bosch before a palace and garden rather than a plantation was, however, consistent with the virtual silence of colonial painters on the exploitation and violence that often accompanied Dutch expansion in the Indies, a topic that will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Raden Saleh was the most renowned Indonesian artist of the colonial period, one of the first to adopt a European style of painting and to do so with great international success, hence his inclusion here and, indeed, in most contemporary discussions of colonial art. He achieved celebrity in Europe and the Indies during his own lifetime, and his paintings have recently enjoyed renewed popularity among Southeast Asian buyers.[3] Raden Saleh was born in Central Java to minor nobility. His talent was encouraged from an early age by prominent European patrons in the Indies, beginning in the early 1820s with the colonial government's official painter Antoine Payen, who recommended Raden Saleh to King Willem I for a scholarship. In 1829 Raden Saleh travelled to Europe under the patronage of Jean-Baptiste de Linge, a Belgian financier who worked in the Batavia bureaucracy. In the Netherlands, Raden Saleh studied under two respected painters considered members of the Dutch Romantic movement, one a portraitist (Cornelis Kruseman) and the other a landscape specialist (Andreas Schelfhout) (Bachtiar 1976:36, 57–9; Loos, De Rijdt and Van Heteren 1997). His early commissioned works, painted in Holland in the 1830s, were portraits of European elites (Scalliet 2005). In the 1840s Raden Saleh began to paint more exotic themes such as hunting scenes and animal pieces in the Orientalist and Romantic tradition. Some of these were presented to European monarchs, two of whom bestowed knighthoods on Raden Saleh in return for his efforts (Bachtiar 1976:46–7; Scalliet 1999:60–2). By the time Raden Saleh finally returned to Java, in 1852, he had accumulated an impressive array of powerful European clients, among them Kings Willem I, II and III of the Netherlands, King Friedrich August II of Saxony, Ernst I and Ernst II, Grand Dukes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria (Bachtiar 1976:37, 39, 44, 46–7).

In the Indies, Raden Saleh continued to move in exalted circles, painting for the Muslim aristocrats of the Principalities as well as senior Dutch officials in the

1 Abeyasekere 1987:43. The first governor-general to reside at Buitenzorg for most of the year was Herman Willem Daendels (reign 1808–1811).

2 There is some dispute over the year of Raden Saleh's birth. I have chosen the date cited by Marie-Odette Scalliet (1999:58) since, as she points out, this is the year given by the artist himself.

3 Some of the highest prices paid for Raden Saleh's paintings were offered in the lead-up to the Asian financial crisis (1997–1998): 'Raden Saleh's painting sold for S$773,750 at Sotheby's in Singapore', *Antara*, Jakarta, 31 March 1997; 'Raden Saleh's painting sold for S$773,750 at Sotheby's in Singapore', *Antara*, Jakarta, 31 March 1997. There seems also to have been a demand for Raden Saleh paintings on the black market at this time. One of his works formed part of a collection stolen (and later recovered) from Jakarta's Museum Nasional in 1996: '17 Paintings stolem from nat'l museum recovered', *Antara*, Jakarta, 7 October 1996.

4 The claim that Raden Saleh's history painting betrays a 'proto-nationalist' inclination is made in Kraus 2005:263, 285. Support has recently been lent to this argument by Carey 2007:698–9.

5 Tobin 2005:90–1, 99. Such views were also common in seventeenth-century Dutch country house paintings (Jacques 2002:115).

bureaucracy. Some of his elite aspirations were encouraged, even rewarded: he was a foundation member of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) when it was established in 1851, and the first Indonesian to be granted entry to the prestigious Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of the Arts and Sciences) in 1866, almost 90 years after the institution was first established (Bachtiar 1976:45–6). However, parochial prejudices among Dutch officials in the Indies worked to constrain Raden Saleh in a way that he had not experienced in Europe. When he began to appear in public with a *payong* (parasol)-bearing servant the Dutch Resident of Buitenzorg invoked the sumptuary regulations that restricted such practices to high-born Javanese elites. More serious limits to Raden Saleh's privileges were enforced between 1869 and 1870, when the artist was placed under surveillance following his implication in a violent local rebellion (Bachtiar 1976:53–4, 67–8, 75–6). His suspected involvement was later found to be unsupported, which is perhaps not surprising given Raden Saleh's close affiliation with the colonial establishment. Indeed, the artist was charged with the task of curating and restoring the Portrait Gallery at the palace, as well as producing a further painting of a Dutch governor-general (Van Duuren 1999:91). Raden Saleh's government patronage, and his direct role in championing the image of Dutch rule in the Indies, undermines recent claims that some of his other work betrays 'proto-nationalist' political leanings.[4]

Indeed, Raden Saleh's early nineteenth-century portraits of Dutch governors-general at Buitenzorg share significant traits with the garden conversation pieces popular among British East India Company officials in India. Both types of images asserted colonial sovereignty through proprietorship over Asian land. Anglo-Indian conversation pieces displayed elite British families against the extensive gardens and parklands attached to their palatial homes. As Beth Fowkes Tobin has recently demonstrated in her persuasive analysis of the genre, such paintings were closely descended from art works commissioned by the landed gentry of mid-eighteenth-century Britain. The purpose of such images was to reassert elites' power and authority over lands to which their historical and affective connections had been eroded due to the progressive commodification of real property. Anglo-Indian families who commissioned garden conversation pieces thus sought to affiliate themselves, through the familiar visual language of the genre, with the landed gentry of England (Tobin 2005:82, 85, 88, 91, 95, 115).

Unlike Anglo-Indian garden pieces, Dutch images of Buitenzorg do not of course depict the private estate of a colonial elite, but rather the official residence of a representative of the Crown. Dutch art from the Indies does not, strictly speaking, contain an equivalent genre to the Anglo-Indian garden conversation piece, perhaps because in the Netherlands there had been no historical tradition of a landed, rural aristocracy as there was in England. Certainly, wealthy Dutch burgers had established country houses for themselves since the Renaissance. During the seventeenth century, these were celebrated in paintings, drawings and poetry (a special genre known in Dutch as a *hofdicht*, which celebrated country gardens and estates). The aim of these commemorations was to honour gardening and cultivation as a princely art, and to 'legitimis[e] wealth and the ownership of land' (Koolhaas-Grosfeld 1997:49; Jardine 2008:213–7). During the late eighteenth century, conversation pieces were also popular among the Dutch nobility in the Netherlands (Legêne 1998:92–3). Dutch estates differed, however, from their English counterparts in that their proprietors essentially used them as holiday retreats from their bases in the city. English estates, by contrast, developed as economic and political centres of power that functioned independently of urban strongholds (De Jong 1990:16, 42; De Vries 1990:82). In the Indies, pictures of estates owned by the well-to-do plantocracy on Java did exist in large numbers, but it is in nineteenth-century images of Buitenzorg that we see the strongest visual resonance with other European conventions for representing country estates. Vast lawns allowing for a clear view of spacious grounds, together with a panoramic perspective that signalled proprietal oversight of the land, were a common trait of images of Buitenzorg.[5] Such images also featured affluent European figures

whose presence signified political power and cultivated tastes. Many colonial images of the Buitenzorg palace and gardens show the palace at the centre of genteel colonial life in a manner that was perhaps intended to appeal to an aspirational audience of European viewers who viewed themselves as educated members of polite society. These were stable conventions that persisted across visual genres in pictures of Buitenzorg, occurring in photographs as well as paintings throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The impression of Dutch colonialism presented in nineteenth-century views of the Buitenzorg grounds therefore emphasized polite civilization and benevolent cultivation

**2.3** A.J. Bik, *View of the park, part of the gardens and the palace at Buitenzorg* (1842)

over the exploitative, expansionary, scientific functions of the gardens.

Images of the site proliferated in printed and private albums and, along with views of the Post Road, were among the better-known landscapes of the Netherlands Indies. The abundance of such pictures is partly explained by the increase in illustrated books in Europe from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Though still relatively costly items, advances in printing technology during this period meant that printed volumes reached a growing audience of prosperous, literate elites (Bastin 1979:2). As well as exemplifying the growing demand for visual information about the colonies among European elites, such printed books provide a salient instance of the way in which popular images of Indies landscapes were recycled over long periods of time, becoming templates for other artists' works and shaping European public perceptions of what the colonies looked like. The Buitenzorg views of A.J. Bik (1790–1872) provide a case in point. Bik's paintings were published as lithographs in several books and albums that were produced in the Netherlands throughout the mid-nineteenth century. He was among the first European artists to depict the botanic garden, having stayed at Buitenzorg with his brother Theodoor while it was being established.[6] A.J. Bik's paintings became pervasive tokens of a polite kind of Dutch order and authority imposed upon tropical environments, one that drew upon neo-classical conventions for depicting civilized landscapes.[7] His *View of the park, part of the gardens and the palace at Buitenzorg* (Figure 2.3), which appeared as a colour lithograph by W.J. Gordon in J.J. van Braam's *Vues de Java* (1842), shows Europeans in coat-tails and crinolines promenading on the green immediately before the palace. The gardens themselves consist of manicured lawns, neat rows of shrubs, and a picturesque, meandering stretch of the Ciliwung River that leads the eye upward into the highlands. The labour required to keep the landscape carefully maintained is briefly alluded to at bottom left, where a worker is shown hoeing the grounds.

Similar images of genteel colonial order were produced in images appearing in other volumes, such as C.L. Blume's *Rumphia*, which was published in Leiden between 1835 and 1848.[8] Some of the images in these volumes showed deer grazing by the pond and a carriage, complete with liveried footmen, making its way along the drive toward the palace. One illustration shows swans paddling in the water and two gentlemen on horseback in the foreground. The work that is required to maintain the gardens is again assiduously noted with the presence of grounds-keepers. Significantly, little of the actual gardens is shown, the artists preferring instead to depict the seat of colonial government as a kind of manor within a spacious park. The gardens had to be inferred by those who were familiar with the location. Similar images were replicated in other books and albums throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.[9] In

**6** Scalliet 2001:349–50. A.J. Bik departed in 1822, but his brother stayed on.

**7** Dutch landscape paintings from between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries often showed genteel figures strolling on country lanes: see, for example, Jan ten Compe's, *View of The Hague* (1750) and Simon Andreas Krausz's *Woodland scene with strollers* (circa 1820) (Loos, De Rijdt and Van Heteren 1997:124–5 and 204–5 respectively).

**8** The full title of the collection is *Rumphia, sive commentationes botanicae, imprimis de plantis Indiae Orientalis, tum penitus incognitis, tum quae in libris Rheedii, Rumphii, Roxburghii, Wallichii, aliorum recensentur*.

**9** See, for example, W.J. Gordon after Th. Reigers, *Vue du palais de Buitenzorg*, and W.J. Gordon after A.J. Bik, *Vue du palais de Buitenzorg, prise du parc*, both in Van Braam 1842; J.F.C. Reckleben, *Het paleis te Buitenzorg* in Van der Aa 1846–57; P. Lauters after A.J. Bik, *Nova Curia Bogoriensis, a fronte adversa visa* in Blume 1835–49.

→
**2.5** Charls & Van Es & Co., *A lane in the botanic garden at Buitenzorg* (1900)

↓
**2.4** Woodbury & Page, *The palace at Buitenzorg* (1872)

them, the association between Buitenzorg and Dutch authority was subtly evoked by appeals to the cultivated tastes of those who could afford to view such images, and who perhaps identified with the well-heeled figures in the picture.

In the late nineteenth century, photographers began producing very similar scenes of the Buitenzorg palace and gardens. Photographs like those made by the studio of Woodbury & Page in 1872 (Figure 2.4) demonstrate the profound legacy of A.J. Bik's views of Buitenzorg. It was also in the age of photography, however, that the first departures from the distant views of the grounds favoured by painters emerged. Pictures of their interior, like the example of the photograph by the studio of Charls and Van Es (Batavia) (Figure 2.5), exhibited the magnificent ponds, avenues and tropical flora of the gardens. Such images nevertheless continued to represent the botanic garden as a paragon of cultivated order. Throughout the colonial period, paintings, drawings and photographs of the palace and botanic garden at Buitenzorg thus made consistent allusions to the genteel efforts of the Dutch to cultivate the tropics, and thereby to position themselves as the natural rulers of the Indies. Through a proliferation of very similar pictures of Buitenzorg available to diverse audiences across a long period of time, Dutch paintings and photographs of the gardens and palace forged a peculiarly civic image of the colonial seat of power, one that differed substantially from the valorization of private property that characterized Anglo-Indian garden conversation pieces. Such a distinction was in keeping with historic Dutch

images of the State as a well-kept garden. In seventeenth century visual culture, the Dutch Republic had often been represented in seals, heraldry and prints as a walled garden (*tuin*) presided over by a lion (De Jong 1990:15). In the Indies, colonial statehood was represented as a cultivated parkland presided over by the local representative of the Crown.

## Imperial sovereignty and the rhetoric of colonial benevolence

During the Company period, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, infrastructural development in the Netherlands Indies tended to be concentrated at coastal entrepots, where the VOC built and maintained fortresses, canals, docks and harbour facilities, as well as business and residential districts for European merchants and their families. In the nineteenth century, the fledgling Dutch colonial state sponsored a number of projects that produced the first substantial overland connections between coastal cities and the hinterland. Military objectives tended to provide the initial motive for many of these projects in the first half of the nineteenth century, closely followed in the latter half by the mounting demands of the plantation economy.

It was in the context of the Napoleonic Wars that construction of the Groote Postweg (Great Post Road) on Java was begun. In the early nineteenth century, hostilities between European powers on the Continent expanded to involve colonial Southeast Asia. The French sought to protect their interests in the region as stewards of the new possessions they had accrued following the annexation of the Netherlands. Chief among these was the Indies, then governed by the French-appointed Herman Willem Daendels (1762–1818). The 1000 kilometre-long Post Road built during Daendels' reign (1808–1811) was intended to facilitate the speedy east-west movement of troops along Java's northern shore to protect against a possible British invasion. Travel and communications between major cities along the northern route were much improved as a consequence: before the road was built it had taken up to three times as long to travel from one end of Java to the other (Ravesteijn and Ten Horn-van Nispen 2007:289). However, construction of the road came at a cost. Many of the Javanese workers who built it were unpaid coolies or corvée labourers, large numbers of whom died in the process of construction.[10] Daendels' eventual dismissal from office was due in no small part to his brutal methods in building the Post Road. Indonesians today are consequently disinclined to dwell upon the colonial origins of what is now known as the Jalan Raya Pos. No part of the route commemorates Daendels (Nas and Pratiwo 2002:723).

During the nineteenth century, by contrast, the Post Road was widely celebrated by the Dutch as one of the greatest infrastructural achievements of the early colonial era. Even painters, who were usually silent on the modernizing impact of Dutch rule on

**10** Nas and Pratiwo 2002:710. Corvée labour for roadworks was not abolished in the Indies until 1918 (Ravesteijn and Ten Horn-van Nispen 2007:285).

**11** For other images of roads by Salm, see *Weg van Buitenzorg naar de vallei van de Salakh* (Road from Buitenzorg to the Salak Valley); *Landschap in het Malangsche* (Landscape in Malang); *De Groote Postweg van Buitenzorg, langs het land Tjisaroa over den Mogamendong naar de Preanger Regentschappen* (The Great Post Road of Buitenzorg, along Tjisaroa over Mogamendong to the Preanger Regencies) in Greive 1870. These images have recently been reproduced in Hamblyn and Chong 1991:40, 46, 64.

Indies landscapes, often made a subject of the highway in their work. The popularity of the Post Road in colonial art represents a significant departure from landscape painting in the Netherlands, which ignored the environmental impact of modernization until the late nineteenth-century works of The Hague School (De Leeuw 1997:31). Painterly interest in the infrastructure of colonial modernity in the Indies thus preceded developments in the Netherlands by more than half a century, an historical divergence that demands explanation.

Some insight is provided in two views of a stretch of the road in West Java that were executed in very similar ways. The Post Road here appears virtually identical at the hands of two different artists first encountered in Chapter 1. The earlier of the images in question was by Antoine Payen, the Indies' first official government-appointed painter, who in 1822 travelled through the region in the company of Governor-General Godert van der Capellen. The steep climb of the governor-general's carriage through the highlands is evoked in Payen's largest and best-known painting (Legêne 1998:58), of *The Great Post Road near Rajapolah* (1828) (Figure 2.6). In the mid-nineteenth century, Abraham Salm

**2.6** Antoine Payen, *The Great Post Road near Rajapolah* (1828)

represented a strikingly similar stretch of road which he titled *In Sumedang* (Figure 2.7). Salm's numerous paintings of roads in different parts of Java often indicate the monstrous task it must have been to carve a road through the island's precipitous terrain. Several of his works show the remnants of sheer rock face where roads ploughed through hillsides, as well as the mighty landscapes that colonists were carried through on their winding courses.[11] *In Sumedang* shows a road just past the bend that Payen had paused

**2.7** Abraham Salm, *In Sumedang* (mid-nineteenth century)

before except that Salm, with a characteristic Romantic interest in dramatic landscape features, emphasized the waterfall to the left of the road more than Payen had done. Though separated, in their execution, by half a century, both paintings can be said to stress a theme that has been observed of Salm's work, namely an interest in 'the majesty of the Indonesian landscape, and the procedures by which Europeans sought to make it their own' (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:66).

The symbolic claim of sovereignty over Javanese landscapes was at the heart of colonial images of the Post Road, and is perhaps best illustrated in another painting by Raden Saleh of the governor-general who had it built. In his commissioned portrait of the controversial Herman Willem Daendels (Figure 2.8), finished in 1838 and subsequently hung in the palace at Buitenzorg, Raden Saleh chose to place his subject against the backdrop of the road. In depicting Daendels pointing to a map showing the Post Road in West Java, Raden Saleh positioned his subject in much the same way that Joseph Paelinck had portrayed the first Dutch monarch, King Willem I, in 1819 (Figure 1.1). Daendels of course ruled as a French-appointed viceroy before Willem had even been inaugurated, and so he was no representative of a Dutch king. However, Raden Saleh's portrait gave a visual fillip to the mid-nineteenth century Romantic revision of Daendels' reputation as a just ruler rather than a Napoleonic despot. That Daendels is often given the title of Marshal in histories of the period is, after all, a reference to his military credentials in the Napoleonic system. His career had begun in the 1780s in the context of the Dutch Revolution, when he was exiled from the Republic for joining with the French-supported Patriots, opponents of the Princes of Orange. Undeterred, in 1798 Daendels was involved in an attempted coup against the Orangists. He was rewarded for his revolutionary fervour by the French, who appointed him commander of the Batavian army during the French occupation of the Netherlands and, later, governor-general of Java (Schama 2005:166, 342–3).

The Dutch writer Eduard Douwes Dekker contributed to the revival of Daendels' reputation in the mid-nineteenth century by lauding the governor-general's role in constructing the Post Road. Dekker – or 'Multatuli', as he is better known as – is widely regarded to have produced the most famous novel in Dutch colonial literature. *Max Havelaar, or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading Company* (1860) relates the downfall of a colonial civil servant whose efforts to promote the interests of the common Javanese population above those of the corrupt indigenous aristocracy are ultimately defeated. The events were closely based on

**2.8** Raden Saleh, *Herman Willem Daendels* (1838)

the author's own experiences as an Assistant Resident on Java, and are coloured by a perception of himself as a martyr to the cause of progress in the Indies (hence his pen-name, Latin for 'one who has suffered much'). Though controversial when it was published, Multatuli's tract quickly found a sympathetic audience. Indeed, the scandal that erupted as a consequence of the novel's publication reverberated all the way to the Dutch parliament, leading to a series of reforms that have been traced to the implementation of the Ethical Policy in 1901 (Nieuwenhuys 1999:92; Salverda 2005:131; Zook 2006:1169). Nonetheless, Multatuli's 'protest novel' has been rightly qualified by most historians as one that was more reformist than revolutionary in its inclinations. Indeed, the positive reception of the novel among a generation of zealous young civil servants signified the intensification of Dutch colonial expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century, rather than a 'liberal' retreat from empire.[12]

Nowhere does *Max Havelaar* proclaim support for decolonization of the Indies. Rather, the novel presents an argument for dismantling indirect rule in Java in favour of a more authoritarian style of Dutch leadership. Indeed, Multatuli was a great admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte,[13] a figure whose rise and decline also inspired numerous other European Romantic writers of the mid-nineteenth century.[14] In *Max Havelaar*, Multatuli configured Daendels' efforts to take charge of Java as Napoleonic, referring to the Post Road as 'a magnificent piece of work' built by a man with 'strength of mind' (*geestkracht*) who 'dared defy the unwillingness of the population and the discontent of the chiefs in order to create something which stirs the deserved admiration of every visitor even to this day' (Multatuli 1929:60). Here Multatuli glossed over the controversy stirred by Daendels' use of forced labour and the many deaths that resulted when construction took Javanese coolies and corvée labourers through malarial swamps and forests (Nas and Pratiwo 2002:702).

Similarly, in Raden Saleh's painting, Daendels' brutal methods and unpopular authoritarian style of rule are forgotten. Saleh portrayed Daendels as a hero whose deeds belonged to a more daring (perhaps departed) age. The Marshal's command over the landscape is represented in his capacity as both soldier and engineer. His military-style uniform and accoutrements, especially the map and field glass, demonstrate his oversight, experience and conquest of the terrain behind him. The mountain that rises behind him evokes a formidable landscape, but one that has been made traversible from end to end, thanks to the resolve of a strong leader.

Raden Saleh's portrait was painted after a sufficient lapse of time following the restoration of Dutch rule over the Indies in 1817, and was hung in the portrait gallery of the governor-general's palace, where it could be seen by European and Indonesian dignitaries alike. Progress confirming Dutch

**12** Many scholars have triumphantly criticized Edward W. Said's characterization (1994:290) of *Max Havelaar* as an anti-colonial text in his seminal *Culture and imperialism*. Said's gravest error was not, however, in claiming the novel to be anti-colonial (which he does not consistently argue), but in characterizing Multatuli as a 'liberal' whose political views upheld the superiority of European civilization while condemning 'heavy-handed' rule abroad. Multatuli was no liberal, and favoured the delegation of absolute authority to the Dutch in the Indies. Consequently, most scholars of Dutch colonial literature rightly take the view that Multatuli was critical of Dutch colonial policy, but was never anti-colonial (Meijer 1978:228; Zook 2006:1170–4). For a recent exception to this consensus, see Feenberg 1997:834.

**13** In Multatuli's personal notes on the scandal in Lebak, where he himself was posted as a civil servant and upon which he based some of the events in *Max Havelaar*, the longest sections were frequently extensive quotes from works by Napoleon Bonaparte, as well as from Louis-Napoléon (Beekman 1996:222–3).

**14** Bainbridge 2005:450–1, 460–2. E.M. Beekman (1982) was arguably the first scholar of Dutch colonial literature to configure Multatuli himself as a Romantic writer.

sovereignty over Java had been made, if only symbolically, in the time between the execution of Daendels' portrait and Paelinck's earlier painting of King Willem I. After all, Raden Saleh's governor-general is physically present in the landscape that the Dutch monarch had only claimed from a distance in Paelinck's portrait. That the sovereign Daendels represented at the time was French rather than Dutch hardly seems relevant in Saleh's painting. Nor does it matter that the Post Road ultimately failed to repel the British, who temporarily occupied Java between 1811 and 1816 when France was defeated and its Dutch 'allies' punished. The painting seems to comfortably appropriate Daendels' infrastructural legacy into the early history of 'Dutch' colonial rule. The restoration of the Marshal's reputation was part of a broader effort by colonial writers and painters to connect the fortunes of the revitalized Dutch empire with the momentous recent history of Europe through evoking the Romantic appeal of the Napoleonic age.

By the mid-nineteenth century, then, the extension of colonial sovereignty over Javanese landscapes, vested in the office of the governor-general, had become associated with the image of the Post Road. The subsequent proliferation of photographic images of the road in the latter half of the century consolidated the affective significance in colonial visual culture of the highway as an important artery in the body of an expanding Indies empire. Photographic studios exploited the road's potential as a souvenir image that evoked colonial journeys through

**2.9** Woodbury & Page, *Cisokan post on the Great Post Road in the vicinity of Cianjur* (1880)

Java. In the age of horse-powered overland travel, for instance, rest stops were crucial to alleviating the fatigue and discomfort of bumpy roads. Stables housing fresh horses were stationed every 8 or 9 km along the Post Road, and would therefore have been a familiar sight to travellers (Ravesteijn and Ten Horn-van Nispen 2007:284). The photographers at the studio of Woodbury & Page cleverly capitalized on this feature of nineteenth-century travel in their image of a *pasanggrahan* (a roofed shelter where riders stopped to change horses) which might have been taken at any number of points along the Post Road. In this instance, it was at Cisokan in Priangan (Figure 2.9). For Europeans, the Post Road also evoked memories of leisure. At the turn of the century, the Surabaya studio of the Armenian-Russian photographer, Onnes Kurkdjian, produced an image of an ostensibly ordinary stretch of tree-lined road with an innocuous-looking shed and a shabby gate (Figure 2.10).[15] To travellers in the know, however, this was the Post Road at Banyu Biru (Blue Water), a village beside a popular colonial bathing spot and picnic destination near Pasuruan in the highlands. Souvenir photographs of the Post Road thus signalled the extension of colonial sovereignty over Java by claiming the landscapes through which it passed as sites of public memory and colonial tourism.

**2.10** Onnes Kurkdjian, *Daendels' Great Post Road, probably at Pasuruan* (circa 1900)

Few Dutch infrastructure projects anywhere else in the Indies attracted the acclaim of the Post Road, perhaps because the scale of the endeavour

remained unequalled in the Indies for most of the colonial period. The first transinsular highway was not built on Sumatra, for example, until 1938 (Reid 2005:17). Here, as on Java, the roadway was developed in response to perceived strategic threats. This time, however, those hazards were internal rather than foreign. The Padri War (1820–1841), a protracted conflagration between Wahhabist Islamic reformers and the Dutch military (acting on behalf of the Minangkabau nobility), precipitated the construction of the first major road between Padang and the interior of the western parts of the island. Works began in 1833 and finished at the end of the war (Asnan 2002:732). This early colonial intervention would lay the groundwork for the largest overland transport network in the Outer Provinces (Asnan 2002:734–5). Road-building accelerated with the foundation of large-scale commercial plantations on the east coast of Sumatra, in the Deli region, from the 1860s onwards. These estates expanded rapidly after 1870 following reforms to Indies Agrarian Laws that resulted in the gradual abandonment of most state monopolies (excepting coffee) in favour of private enterprise.

Colonial photographs frequently commemorated the great building projects that characterized Dutch expansion through Sumatra. Many were feats of engineering and made for spectacular images. Pictures of suspension bridges cast over deep ravines – like the *Duivelsbrug* (Devil's Bridge) (Figure 2.11) extending the rail line between Padang and the Ombilin gold mines on Sumatra's west coast, taken in 1915 – were especially popular themes. Bridges bearing roads and railways were a particular trial for colonists because of the ecological peculiarities of the tropics.

**2.11** J. Jongejans, *Duivelsbrug* (circa 1915)

In the Indies, Dutch engineers accustomed to Netherlandish conditions confronted unfamiliar challenges like mountainous terrain and *banjir* (flash floods) during the westerly monsoon. Construction of the Blang Më bridge over the Krueng River in Aceh proved to be troublesome for this very reason. Repeated attempts to build the bridge were defeated by floods in 1902, 1916 and 1926. Each time colonial engineers attempted to defy the rising waters that threatened construction by applying new techniques and reinforcing the bridgeworks with stronger materials, all to no effect until 1930, when the structure finally withstood a major flood (Ravesteijn 2007:52–3). Photography, a modern technology that was constantly evolving during the second half of the nineteenth century, was a fitting visual genre for recording such achievements.

Images of transport infrastructure supported the notion of colonial benevolence, propaganda that became crucial after the introduction of reforms that sought to acknowledge a fiscal 'debt of honour' owed by the Dutch to the colonies that had made the Netherlands wealthy.[16] The initiative was first announced by Queen Wilhelmina during the opening of the Dutch parliament in September 1901. It became known as the 'Ethical Policy' following the terminology used in an influential report written by a public proponent of the reforms, P. Brooshooft, chief editor at the Semarang newspaper *De Locomotief* (Locher-Scholten 1981:11, 44–5). The programme had its notional equivalents among other European imperial regimes in Asia, notably the French *mission civilisatrice* and the British 'white man's burden' (Ravesteijn 2007:37). In the Indies, the Ethical Policy incorporated a range of schemes within a broad framework for modernizing governance of the Indies, including state assistance of primary education for Indonesian children, public health programmes and improved infrastructure. For some supporters – notably the Islamist and government Advisor for Native and Arab Affairs (1889–1907), Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje – the Ethical Policy required closer 'association' between Indonesian and Dutch elites. The ultimate goal was the assimilation of indigenous leaders into a rational, secular, Western framework of government that would eventually involve more or less equal partnership with Indonesian rulers (Steenbrink 1993:87–9; Laffan 2003:55, 74, 89, 93–4).

In its early phases the principle of association and the broader objectives of the Ethical Policy were in fact used by the government to justify accelerated military expansion, particularly in the Outer Provinces, on the grounds of forging political unity between territories in the Dutch sphere of influence. After the First World War, the objective of association became progressively attenuated in official circles. It was held that Indonesians were not yet prepared for self-rule. The welfare programme itself was at its height only for a relatively

**15** For a brief biography of Kurkdjian, see Hinzler 1991:59–63.

**16** The phrase comes from an article titled 'Een eereschuld' (A debt of honour) written by a Dutch parliamentarian named C.Th. van Deventer in 1899 (Ricklefs 2001:193).

**17** Mrázek 2002:11. In her memoir of life in the Indies in the early twentieth century, the Indo-European writer Marguerite Schenkhuizen (1993:43) also recalled the immense popularity of train travel among ordinary Javanese.

**18** Bernard Porter (2006:177) makes a useful distinction between 'benevolent motives' and 'beneficent outcomes' in his assessment of British and American imperialisms.

**19** The notion of an Indo-European settler community in New Guinea was initially proposed by the Indo-Europeesch Verbond (Indo-European Union) in 1923, and the first settlers arrived in 1930 (Rutherford 1998:259–67).

short period of time, between 1905 and 1920 (Locher-Scholten 1981:206; Cribb 1994:5, 8). Nevertheless, by the time the Japanese occupied the Indies in 1942, they were able to take advantage of an extensive system of transport and communications networks, as well as irrigation, drainage and sanitation projects that had been constructed by the Dutch. The network included 69,000 km of roads constructed throughout the archipelago, most of them asphalted or metalled, together with some 7500 km of railways in Java and Sumatra alone (Ravesteijn and Ten Horn-van Nispen 2007:274).

These developments brought the benefits of mobility to a large number of Indonesians, who took to rail travel with alacrity.[17] However, most scholars agree that whatever advantages accrued to ordinary Indonesians as a result of Dutch building projects were often incidental to the immediate concerns of colonial planners. In their study of colonial infrastructure projects in the Indies, Wim Ravesteijn and Marie-Louise ten Horn-van Nispen (2007:56) argue that, while irrigation and drainage works left a positive legacy to ordinary Indonesians living in the countryside, the colonial transport system was geared towards exploiting the mining and agricultural sectors rather than bringing services to the masses or promoting industrial development. Further, whatever benefits enjoyed by rural Indonesians as the result of colonial interventions were limited compared to the improvements made to cities. Here it was Europeans who enjoyed the highest living standards. For example, in 1920, in the region surrounding Surabaya, East Java, access to drinking water was effectively differentiated by race. Europeans were entitled to 150 litres of water per capita per day, Chinese and Japanese households were allowed 90 litres, and Arabs and East Asians 70 litres (Ravesteijn and Ten Horn-van Nispen 2007:54). Similar differences were observable with access to other utilities in Batavia. Although electricity was well established here by 1930, less than 0.2% of Java's non-European population had power in their homes (Mrázek 2002:93, 95, 161). As Adrian Vickers (2005:24–5) has noted, '[t]he native sections of cities remained wild areas resistant to official campaigns'. Despite the increasingly benevolent rhetoric of late Dutch imperialism in the Indies, then, the accelerated expansion that was celebrated in colonial images of infrastructural development was only accompanied by 'beneficent outcomes'[18] for Europeans, a small minority of the population.

## Empire building, patriotic rhetoric and literary narratives of expansion in Sumatra

In the late-colonial period, access to land for development became a significant cause of conflict between Indonesians, colonists and the colonial state. The agrarian reforms of 1870 protected (following the letter if not always the spirit of the law) the sole rights of Natives to own land in the Indies (Ricklefs 2001:161). Chinese settlers and other 'foreigners', including Europeans, were only permitted access to land through leases. In the early twentieth century, in the context of a burgeoning Indonesian nationalist movement that sought to gain full citizenship and self-rule for Natives, a growing number of creole and Indo-European organizations emerged to articulate their own demands for self-determination (Bosma 2004:663–4, 670; Bosma 2005; Van der Veur 2006). Some of these organizations – such as the Indische Partij (Indies Party), founded in 1912 – were sympathetic to the aims of Indonesian nationalists (Bosma 2004:670, 672). Others pursued their interests independently. In the 1920s, some Indo-European associations agitated for a separate homeland to be set aside for Eurasians in West Papua (Irian Jaya).[19]

In these circumstances, images of Dutch development projects configured transformations to the colonized landscapes of the Indies as a patriotic necessity that bestowed moral entitlements (if not legal privileges) upon settlers in exchange for their 'improvement' of tropical landscapes. New rail lines in the Indies were therefore often greeted by colonists with particular patriotic enthusiasm, as can be surmised from the large number of photographs on this subject. Colonial writers also participated in the celebration of railroads. In *Rubber* (1931), the debut novel of Madelon Székely-Lulofs (1899–1958), a Dutch couple named Frank and Marion Versteegh who live on a remote plantation in East Sumatra experience their

first significant emotional investment in the landscapes around them at the completion of a new railroad:

> Right in front of the house ran a narrow-gauge railway. Twice a day the little train rattled past…
>
> It was a joy to Marion to hear the sharp whistle pierce the still day. She and Frank had watched it together when the train passed for the first time.
>
> 'The real thing,' they had said, elated. 'Just as though we were in Holland.'
>
> … It was as though civilization had leapt, with one giant bound, into this primitive world…[20]

The novels of Székely-Lulofs provide important insights into how visual images of infrastructure projects were embedded within an emerging literary discourse of colonial patriotism. Székely-Lulofs was born in Surabaya, Java, in 1899. Much of her childhood was spent in remote locations where her father carried out his duties as a government official. In 1918 Madelon went to Deli, the east coast plantation region of Sumatra. She was the first Dutch novelist to write about the region (Clerkx and Wertheim 1991:2), which had been brought into the colonial sphere of production during the 1870s and experienced an economic boom in the 1920s. In the latter period, during which most of her novels were set, Madelon had lived as a planter's wife on a rubber estate in Asahan, south of the regional capital in Medan. It was here that she met László Székely, also a planter. Székely was a Hungarian who shared Madelon's literary inclinations and critical perspectives on the narrow concerns of colonial plantation society. Their elopement and return to Europe together in 1930, where both began careers as writers, caused a scandal in Deli, as did the novels that the couple subsequently produced (Reid 1979:v, viii, ix; Nieuwenhuys 1999:170–6).

In *Rubber*, the arrival of the railroad represented the most recent of a series of radical interventions in the landscapes of East Sumatra, some of which seemed to pose a challenge to Dutch confidence in the colonial project. The early chapters of the novel describe in detail the massive operation involved in clearing primary forest to make way for regimented rubber plantations. This was a violent and destructive process that Székely-Lulofs' protagonists, Frank and Marion, expressed serious misgivings about when confronted with for the first time:

> That morning Meesters let the fire be put to the felled forest. It raged terribly. The trees fell across one another, giant trunks were reduced to smouldering, black stumps. The land was desolate: where the heavy trees were disturbed they ploughed up the ground, creating deep pits. The dilapidated ground was now smeared with ash and soot. Smoky, smouldering, black – burned stumps were scattered everywhere. Amidst this desolation stood a single giant trunk, tall and upright, that had been too large to fell. It was now piteously bereft of its crown and foliage. Its bark was scarred with burns. The fire had crept like an insatiable monster through the tree's bowels, burning the mutilated trunk from the inside out; it had crept higher and higher, like a debilitating disease, before finally erupting in a blazing fountain at the top… A hellish heat emanated off the burned land…
>
> Frank and Marion shuddered. A feeling of oppression settled upon them. The sight of this annihilated, murdered, chaotic land evoked a gloomy, plundered, blackened and charred churchyard… (Székely-Lulofs 1933:64–5.)

The violence and destruction evoked in this excerpt communicates a deep colonial ambivalence about the environmental effects of expansion on the frontier, one that no studies on the development of conservation policies in the Netherlands Indies have thus far addressed. Historians have principally focused on the way in which Székely-Lulofs and other colonial writers approached the issue of social violence on the plantations, which were worked by a large labour force of indentured Chinese and Javanese immigrants under the management of a small number of Europeans (Clerkx and Wertheim 1991:33). Székely-Lulofs' novels also provide some evidence of how colonial agents of environmental change reflected on the moral implications of their actions in tropical landscapes. While most of Indonesia's deforestation has occurred

in the post-colonial period (Henley and Osseweijer 2005:2, 5, 7), forest exploitation had significantly altered the environment of old areas of settlement by the eighteenth century (for instance, Batavia's Ommelanden, the regions surrounding the capital) (Boomgaard 2005:220), and was beginning to affect the Outer Provinces during the late-colonial era. Before 1870, deforestation on sparsely populated islands like Sumatra had been negligible, but began to accelerate thereafter largely in response to the demands of plantation agriculture (Boomgaard 2005:219). Székely-Lulofs' novel describes how European planters effectively operated as shifting cultivators in unequal competition with small-scale indigenous farmers, clearing large swathes of primary forest before eventually abandoning exhausted land to move into more productive areas.[21] Fallow land was frequently invaded by noxious *Imperata* and other tropical grasses, leaving behind 'green deserts' of infertile savannahs that covered most of the Deli region by the 1890s (Pelzer 1978:29, 45; Kathirithamby-Wells 1992:31). The American geographer Karl J. Pelzer concluded, upon his first visit to Southeast Asia in the 1940s, that colonial planters had practically 'ruined' the ecologically fragile upland regions of East Sumatra within a few decades of settlement.[22]

Székely-Lulofs' fiction attempted to resolve some of the moral conflicts that arose from colonial perceptions of environmental degradation. In *Rubber*, though obviously disturbed by the devastation wrought upon Sumatra's wilderness by large-scale clearing, Marion Versteegh appears to find recompense in the final outcome:

> Her thoughts went to this great work that had been accomplished. Pride swelled in her, because the hands and the brains of men had been able to bring so much about. She looked at Frank. He too had taken his part in this mighty labour, in this fine work of making a wild region fertile. She assessed his part; she had seen the changes taking place around their house. For a moment she felt at one with this country, safe within these surroundings… It was like a new fatherland that they had created for themselves. (Székely-Lulofs 1931:99.)

Marion's reflections here suggest that the transformation of wilderness into 'civilization', though often traumatic to observe, engendered a sense not only of pride but also enfranchisement among planter-colonists. Visual and literary narratives of expansion therefore lent patriotic credence to colonial development projects. Celebratory images of development compensated somewhat for the legal reality of European exclusion from rural land ownership, a right which was, in principle, reserved only for Natives after the agrarian reforms were introduced in 1870. While international corporations frequently circumvented these restrictions in East Sumatra by gaining access to land through long leases negotiated with indigenous leaders, often at the expense of

**20** Székely-Lulofs 1933:93. My translation throughout.

**21** Karl J. Pelzer (1978:140) observed that '[t]he tobacco planters of East Sumatra were the only swidden cultivators in the world to alternate with the peasants in the use of swidden'.

**22** Pelzer 1978:47. See also Pelzer 1948:77.

local smallholders (Pelzer 1978:67–79, 91, 140; Breman 1990b:20), for the average European estate employee it may have also been important to gain a more profound sense of achievement from their time in Deli, beyond the (often substantial) financial gains that many made before returning to Europe.

## Conclusions

This chapter has traced a broad shift in the discursive content of visual images of Dutch empire-building across the colonial period. In the early nineteenth century, pictures of the botanic gardens and grounds at Buitenzorg and the Great Post Road on Java commemorated the reassertion of Dutch sovereignty over Indies landscapes after the dissolution of the VOC and the loss of large portions of the Company's possessions, first to the French and then, more permanently, to the British. In the second half of the nineteenth century, and gathering pace around 1900, images of Dutch expansion served an increasingly patriotic function, justifying colonial transformations of the landscape in terms of progress as well as entitlements for settlers. Economic and political reforms had effected these changes: a liberal shift in the management of the economy that was intended to encourage free enterprise, immigration and settlement; and an ethical turn in government policy which emphasized the welfare of indigenous people, a development that brought resistance from colonial settlers seeking to safeguard their own privileges.

The environmental impact of colonialism in the Netherlands Indies often encouraged cultural reflections of a type that were not explored by artists in the Netherlands until the end of the nineteenth century. The fact that gardens, roads, railways, and commercial plantations were the topic of colonial literature as well as paintings and photographs demonstrates how pervasive and evocative the traces of empire-building were in the colonial imagination. Indeed, an examination of Dutch colonial fiction helps to locate the circulation of recurring visual images within a broader context of historical debates over the nature and effect of colonialism in the Indies. Fiction illuminates both the triumphalist rhetoric of empire building and the tensions arising from Dutch expansion in the tropics. Together, visual and literary images of colonial development in Java and Sumatra selectively emphasized benevolent motives, cultivated tastes and civilized progress in the extension of Dutch sovereignty over new territories. These images were generally silent, however, on the exploitative aims and violent outcomes of Dutch colonialism in the Indies, a topic that will be further explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

# Naturalizing conquest

## Rural idylls in colonial painting

Were a contemporary viewer to rely entirely on colonial landscape paintings of the Indies as a source of historical information, they would probably conclude that the Dutch had little or no impact on the appearance or use of Indonesian environments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though eloquent on some aspects of Dutch colonialism that celebrated improvement – particularly transinsular highways and botanic gardens, as we saw in the previous chapter – paintings were virtually silent on other modifications to the Indonesian environment that were at the vanguard of colonial expansion. The plantation complex, so crucial to the Netherlands Indies economy, provides the leading example. Landscape paintings proffered no notion of its scale and significance in generating colonial wealth and expanding the frontiers of the colonial state, particulary in the late nineteenth century, when these processes accelerated in the Outer Provinces. Paintings also omit the conflict that resulted as the Dutch consolidated and extended their possessions during the colonial period, and the resistance they evinced from Indonesians. Photography, which became a widespread mode of visual representation in the Indies almost from its inception in 1839, provides a more complicated, diverse picture of colonial landscapes. In addition to idyllic views of rural scenes, photographs portrayed the proto-industrial, highly regulated, commercial nature of plantation environments.

Colonial paintings and photographs thus provided differentiated narratives of colonial conquest, with painting emerging as a form that consistently idealized rural, tropical Indies landscapes devoid of foreign intervention. This is best observed in the popularity and pervasiveness of a genre known as *mooi Indië* (beautiful Indies). Scholars have frequently noted the standard characteristics of such paintings: their style is inevitably naturalist-realist, their content an arrangement of rice fields, palm trees, mountains or smoking volcanoes, all contained within a sweeping, panoramic view that minimizes details and creates a generic impression of 'the tropics'. Panoramic *mooi Indië* scenes often possess a distinctly pastoral quality, promoting rural idylls in which commercial agriculture is almost entirely invisible. Views of subsistence farming, apparently unaffected by the progress of time, provide the only evidence of productive landscapes. Farmers are typecast as contented peasants whose lives are exclusively ordered by the rhythm of the seasons rather than by contracts and industrial time.

This chapter reveals how *mooi Indië* painting developed beyond the confines of its historic roots in early modern European landscape painting to reflect a peculiarly colonial concern with naturalizing Dutch conquest in Indonesia. The panoramic perspectives typical of *mooi Indië* paintings elegantly captured the strategic and commercial value of colonized land while conveniently eliding the practical details of its conquest, which frequently involved violence, exploitation and destruction of the environment. Such conquests did not commend the administrators, planters,

military men and traders who participated in and benefited from the clearing of land and the reorganization of rural communities to suit colonial production. It was these men, by and large, who wielded the brush or pencil that coloured *mooi Indië* views. Most colonial artists of the nineteenth century were amateur enthusiasts whose professional interests as career colonists pervaded the ideal painted landscape. War and conflict were avoided in hand-drawn pictures that tinted topography with imagination. So were landscapes in which the adverse impact of colonial modernity – industrialization, standardization, exploitation (of nature and of labour), and coercion – was evident. Colonial painters and draftspeople found the panorama, a style invested with the authority of European tradition, to be a convenient tool for minimizing the impact of Dutch expansion on Indies landcapes.

## Peaceful panoramas: Landscape art and myths of colonial non-intervention

The first decades of the nineteenth century represented a crucial period in the expansion of Dutch colonial sovereignty over landscapes formerly assumed by the VOC and subsequently claimed by the newly-instated Dutch monarchy. An early test of the strength of colonial sovereignty presented itself in Java between 1825 and 1830, when a bitter war ensued that challenged the authority of the infant colonial state. Western histories typically refer to the conflict as the Java War – a convention that will be followed here – while Indonesian histories have tended to name the war after its tragic hero, Prince Diponegoro (1785–1855), who was ultimately exiled to Sulawesi and died a prisoner of the Dutch (Taylor 2003:234). Diponegoro was a grandchild of Sultan Hamengkubuwono II of Yogyakarta. A strong connection to the countryside fostered through his female relatives, as well as significant associations with *santri* (pious Muslim) communities in south Central Java, determined an unusual upbringing for a prince of his time (Carey 2007:71–102). It was a background that would bolster his vision of himself as the messianic *ratu adil* (Just King) of Javanese folklore, a belief that assumed special significance during his early adulthood when the Muslim courts of Central Java were plunged into economic and political crisis (Carey 2007:583–91). Diponegoro and his followers justified their designs for usurping the Yogyakarta sultanate – personified in the 1820s by Hamengkubuwono V and supported by the Dutch colonial administration – by labeling the incumbents as infidels unfit to rule devout Muslim Javanese.

The rebellion led by Diponegoro in 1825 began a conflagration that would last five years, involve large parts of Central and northern coastal Java, devastate a quarter of all cultivated land, and affect around two million Javanese (a third of the total population), some 200,000 of whom died. The price of victory for the Dutch, on the other hand, was 15,000 military deaths and 20 million guilders (Carey 2007:653–4). It took the colonists until 1829 to begin regaining control of rebel-occupied territories, and until 1830 for the prince himself to be captured. Indeed, the controversial arrest of Diponegoro became the subject of two of the best-known history paintings from the Indies, a genre with few examples in Dutch colonial art. Both were made by Romantic artists, the first by the renowned Amsterdam history painter, Nicolaas Pieneman (1809–1860), and the second by the Javanese artist Raden Saleh (1811–1880) (Van Tilborgh 1984:182). Pieneman's picture was commissioned by Diponegoro's nemesis, Lieutenant-General H.M. de Kock, and shows the abortive negotiations that culminated with the Dutch retracting their promise not to arrest the Prince. Raden Saleh's painting, executed in 1857 and later presented to King Willem III, depicts the same event with a rather more defiant Diponegoro. Werner Kraus (2005) has argued that Raden Saleh's execution of the scene demonstrates the artist's 'protonationalist' inclinations. Peter Carey (2007:698) has supported this interpretation, noting that the presentation of the painting to the King was 'a curious back-handed gesture' on the artist's part. However, as argued in the previous chapter, Raden Saleh's portraits of Dutch governors-general consistently portrayed these men as uncontested rulers over the colonized landscapes of Java. The fact that he presented his painting of Diponegoro's arrest to a Dutch monarch can thus be interpreted as

the artist's continuing recognition of Dutch sovereignty over the island.

The war was, as Peter Carey (2007:xi) has stated in his comprehensive account of the period, 'a watershed in the history of Java and of all Indonesia'. In the late-colonial era it would assume symbolic significance among Indonesian nationalists seeking a precedent for anti-colonial resistance. The immediate aftermath of the war, however, consolidated Dutch sovereignty over Java (Carey 2007: xi). Victory was followed by vigilance. The Dutch renewed their efforts to govern Java 'indirectly' with the aid of sympathetic indigenous rulers who had been co-opted into the colonial bureaucracy (Sutherland 1980:10–2). The colonial government also launched an extensive campaign to train its soldiers in guerrilla warfare (a tactic that had been used with great effect against the Dutch by Javanese forces), to chart the island's interior, and to reinforce military defences (Zandvliet 2002a:325). Concerted interventions were thus required to maintain Dutch sovereignty in Java, and to restore peace to a countryside that had been ravaged by war.

Along with military and bureaucratic strategies, pacifying efforts were also deployed in the cultural sphere. Three years after the formal conclusion of the war, an illustrated French-language account was published in Leiden entitled *Mémoires sur la Guerre de L'Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830* (Recollections of the War on the Island of Java from 1825 to 1830). The author was Major François Vincent Henri Antoine Ridder de Stuers (1792–1881), a renowned veteran with impeccable credentials: he served as Lieutenant-General De Kock's adjutant for the duration of the war, and was also his son-in-law. De Stuers' book was illustrated with

**3.1** F.V.H.A. de Stuers, *Coup d'oeil sur le terrain de Java* (1833)

12 lithographs by W. van Groenewoud based on sketches made by the author himself. Several of these images seemed to respectfully acknowledge De Stuers's adversaries. A portrait of Diponegoro preceded the title page, with two other leading Javanese rebels similarly represented later in the volume. The remaining images showed scenes from the war and, significantly, the place where it was concluded. Several illustrations depicted views of Magelang, the provincial capital of Kedu in Central Java which had served as De Kock's headquarters (Carey 2007:516). One shows the fort triumphantly flying the Dutch flag.[1] The only other direct visual allusion to military conflict is portrayed by a column of troops deployed to quell a 'small band of rebels'.[2] Other images of Magelang resolutely avoid intimations of conflict. *Coup d'oeil sur le terrain de Java* (Figure 3.1) omits the Dutch garrison town, instead showing the countryside of Magelang as peaceful, picturesque and flourishing, untouched by the ravages of war. The only hint of a colonial presence is given in the four figures on the escarpment overlooking the ordered fields of the plain below. Though probably European, none of these figures are armed or in military uniform. In fact, they appear to have stopped for a pleasant chat, perhaps to admire the view. De Stuers has effectively positioned these figures as token 'staffage', to use the idiom of art historians, in a rural scene. The casual viewer would hardly know that this landscape was at the centre of a long war that had cost both Java and the Dutch dearly.

**3.2** F.V.H.A. de Stuers, *Vue de Magellang, sur la riviére Proge et la montagne Sumbing, servant en méme temps de coup d'oeil sur une autre partie du terrain de Java* (1833)

A second panorama by De Stuers shows another view of the same landscape, again from a distant and elevated vantage point, this time overlooking Mount Sumbing and the Progo

River to the western border of the district. More picturesque fields and mountains are visible, as well as what appears to be a neatly fenced compound or village. The overall impression of peace and tranquility is maintained. The polite negotiations occuring in the foreground seem ratifications of a calm that has already settled over the countryside. De Stuers' disingenuously titled *Vue de Magellang, sur la rivière Proge et la montagne Sumbing, servant en même temps de coup d'oeil sur une autre partie du terrain de Java* (Figure 3.2) in fact depicts Diponegoro's camp at Metésih, a small island in the Progo River. In March 1830, despite the fact that it was Ramadan and therefore an improper time for such discussions, the prince had agreed to meet De Kock at his headquarters for peace negotiations (Carey 2007:653, 677). These are obliquely alluded to in De Stuers' view of the camp. The discussions between Javanese dignitaries in the foreground appear amicable, and no sense of disquiet is conveyed. Close inspection of the picture reveals figures positioned along the roads – pedestrians going about their business, as though nothing out of the ordinary was occuring in the area. In fact, on his journey to Magelang from Menoreh, Diponegoro had attracted an entourage of some 800 loyal supporters, many armed with pikes, who insisted on accompanying him to his destination. These are shown in larger numbers and greater detail in a third view of the encampment, sketched by De Stuers from within its walls on 8 March, at the onset of official negotations.[3] These talks were by no means a *fait accompli*. According to Diponegoro's own account it was unbeknownst to him that the camp would host his last three weeks of freedom. De Stuers' panoramas, however, made the defeat of Diponegoro seem resolved long ago and fresh memories of the war cauterized. His landscapes depict only the tranquil, orderly and fertile countryside that would soon be submitted to the profit-oriented rigours of the cultivation system, introduced by the Dutch in 1830 in part to finance recovery from the war.

Seventeen years after the publication of *Mémoires* a Dutch-language edition finally appeared: *Gedenkschrift van den oorlog op Java, van 1825 tot 1830* (1847), translated by H.M. Lange. The chief reason for embarking on a Dutch edition, Lange (1847:iii) maintained, was to redress the limited popularity of the French-language version, which he attributed to its expense. No doubt the lithographs had been responsible for the cost, although *Mémoires* may also have suffered a restricted distribution due to De Stuers' decision to write in French. In the interim, a Dutch-reading audience had been forced to rely upon a rival account of the war published by another colonial soldier, Hubertus Gerardus Nahuys van Burgst (1782–1858). Nahuys van Burgst's *Verzameling van officiële rapporten, betreffende den oorlog op Java in de jaren 1825–1830* (Collection of official reports concerning the Java War in the years 1825–1830) was published in 1835. *Verzameling*

**1** *Redoute et camp retranchè à tempel, sur la route de Magellang à Djocjacarta* in De Stuers 1833.
**2** *Une des quatorze colones mobiles, traversant des rizières et dètachant quelques hommes contre une petite bande de rebelles* in De Stuers 1833.
**3** *'Le prince Diepo Negoro, entrant dans les habitations préparées pour lui et ses troupes après sa soumission à Megellang, le 8 mars 1830'* in De Stuers 1833.

took issue with aspects of De Stuers' account (principally, in the latter's scornful assessment, the minimal role attributed to Nahuys van Burgst in the Java War). When *Gedenkschrift* was published, De Stuers' 9-page foreword defending his original work was punctuated by caustic assaults on Nahuys van Burgst's credibility as a witness to the war. De Stuers (1847:ix) claimed, for instance, that Nahuys van Burgst spent 'barely half the time in the Principalities', the centre of the action. More pointedly, De Stuers countered Nahuys van Burgst's accusation (1847:xiii) of '*historical inaccuracy*' (*historische onnaauwkeurigheid*) with an assertion of his superior '*historical impartiality*' (*historische onpartijdigheid*). The final thrust of De Stuers' acerbic pen was tipped with the tincture of indisputable authority: all further quibbles over the 'facts' were referred to 'His Excellency the Lieutenant-General De Kock',[4] the Dutch military hero of the Java War to whom De Stuers had privileged familial access.

A portrait of De Kock himself preceded the frontispiece of *Gedenkschrift*, conspicuously replacing the likeness of Diponegoro that had introduced *Mémoires*. De Kock's image cast a significant shadow of influence across the entire Dutch-language edition for, apart from a map of Java, it remained the only illustration in the book. In making economies by reducing illustrations, De Stuers arguably excised an important narrative element from the Dutch-language version of his account in exchange for his reassertion of 'the facts'. In support of the author's expertise, his translator continued to insist upon the narrative integrity of De Stuers' work; indeed, according to Lange it was narrative that had made *Mémoires* a superior account. 'In my opinion', he wrote, 'the reports [Nahuys van Burgst's *Verzameling*] are of little use to the uninitiated reader as they offer no unity or context, and therefore are not amenable to a coherent reading [*eene aaneengeschakelde lezing*].' (Lange 1847:iv.) Memory, narrative, history: these were De Stuers' primary concerns, not mere reportage. In asserting himself as the only man capable of rendering the true 'recollection' of the war, De Stuers positioned both editions of his book as the authoritative account(s) of the conflict.

De Stuers' images of Javanese landscapes in the French-language edition not only reveal the eye of an artist and narrator trained upon a particular view of the recent past that sought to shape uncontentious recollections of a controversial war. They also suggest a more than aesthetic interest in the lay of the land. Drawing was a common liesure pursuit among elites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and so it was not unusual for De Stuers to illustrate his own account of the conflict. However, his talent would have been significantly aided and informed by his military training, which imparted the skills of surveying and draftsmanship. The elevated, panoramic perspectives maintained in his two views of Magelang were of the kind already perfected by Dutch landscape painters in the seventeenth century and thus, as discussed in Chapter 1, belong to a lengthy tradition in

**4** 'De zaak kan des noods in twee regelen beantwoord worden, door met goedkeuring van Zijne Excellentie den Lieutenant-Generaal DE KOCK te verklaren... maar wanneer facta's aanwezig zijn, kan men dezelve doen spreken.' (De Stuers 1847:xiv-v.)
**5** Von Geusau's watercolours have been published in Chong and Hamblyn 1994.

Dutch modes of representation. Such views assume a meaning peculiar to the colonial context, however, because of the professional background of the artist in question.

The colonial government had little use for men without practical talents. Until the late nineteenth century, entry to the Indies was generally restricted to people who had been recommended by a resident as useful persons of good character, who could prove a financial capacity to support themselves. Susan Abeyasekere (1987:59) notes that, before the implementation of 1870 Agrarian Laws, which encouraged private enterprise and a wave of Dutch emigration, there were few 'private' European individuals in the Indies. Few professional artists gained entry to the Indies, having no obvious empire-building skills to offer and thus being unable to guarantee a stable income from their work. The exceptions serve to prove the rule. Hubertus Nicolaas Sieburgh (1799–1842), an enthusiastic admirer of Javanese antiquities, wrote directly to King Willem I in 1836 for permission to paint in the Indies. In gaining approval for this journey, Sieburgh was successful where other amateur artists had been routinely rejected. However, in the absence of a government salary, Sieburgh found it difficult to make a living from his work and died ignominiously in the Indies at the age of 42. After Antoine Payen was instated as 'official' painter, 'the Ministry of the Colonies stopped promoting European painting in the Indies altogether' (Scalliet 1999:65, 67). The dearth of professional artists in Indies society accounts for both the lack of a sophisticated art market in the Netherlands Indies and the high incidence of planters, administrators and military officers with amateur interests in painting and drawing. Indeed, unlike the landscape painters and draftspeople of Europe, whose training was largely completed at art academies and in masters' studios, dilettantes produced the majority of nineteenth-century Indies painting. The general character of Dutch painting from the Indies was thus deeply informed by the professional interests of artists, most of whom had a clear political and economic stake in maintaining peaceful, prosperous colonized landscapes.

Many artists in the Indies were in fact, like De Stuers, military professionals by trade who had turned their illustrative skills to broader use. Several examples already encountered in this book provide a case in point, among them H.C. Cornelius (1774–1833), surveyor of the temple complex at Prambanan, and J.W.B. Wardenaar (1785–1864), who assisted him. These draftsmen and painters used their skills to either produce images for printed books about the Indies, or else, paintings and drawings for public exhibition in the colonies and in Europe. Many of them adopted a panoramic perspective that had broad currency in European art and is thus, at first glance, unremarkable. However, most artists in Europe did not have military training and few were directly involved in overseas expansion. The fact that so many nineteenth-century Dutch artists in the Indies were career colonists whose professions required mapping and surveying skills – tools that could flexibly be deployed for recreation as well as reconnaissance, for contemplation as much as for conquest – deeply implicates the landscape images that they produced in the very acts of expansion and colonization themselves.

Occasionally, the strategic interests of Indies artists were patently obvious, as in the case of the unpublished watercolours of Willem von Geusau (1814–1872), a professional soldier who arrived in the Indies in 1840 and worked his way to the rank of major just before his retirement in 1857.[5] Von Geusau was in many ways an exemplary member of nineteenth-century Dutch colonial society. Willem's father was a Dutch *jonkheer* (nobleman) born in Banten, descended from a former governor-general, Willem Arnold Alting von Geusau (reign 1780–1797), and employed in the military by the VOC. Willem's mother was of less eminent stock, a Dutch servant whose four children were born out of wedlock, perhaps because their father could not bring himself to legitimize his relationship with a low-born woman. The male line, it seems, remained safely respectable. Two of Von Geusau's own sons were born in the Indies and, like their father and grandfather before them, went into the colonial army. Willem, his brother Arnold, and their father were all keen amateur artists. The two brothers in fact used indistinguishable signatures on their images, a detail which, until recently, has led to the

erroneous posthumous attribution of much of Willem's work to Arnold (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:17–20).

Between 1848 and 1857, Willem von Geusau produced a number of unpublished watercolours and a handwritten manuscript describing the landscapes of his various military postings in the Indies. Of the 27 images in the folio, 9 take fortresses as their subject (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:37, 39, 45, 57, 61–2, 75). Many reveal a fastidious impulse to produce comprehensive surveys of the topography and strategic significance of a location. Von Geusau's views of the fortresses Belgica and Nassau provide a case in point. *Neira en de Vuurberg* (Neira and the 'Fire Mountain') (Figure 3.3) and *Het zonnegat* (The sun gap) (Figure 3.4) were completed in 1851 while Von Geusau was stationed in the Moluccas.[6] Belgica and Nassau were located on Neira and Lontar respectively, two islands in the tiny Banda archipelago. Von Geusau's watercolours illustrate and contextualize his written information on the commercial and military importance of the locations. Together, the text and images reveal the artist's professionally-refined proclivity for detailed, precise reportage on matters of colonial interest. Though Von Geusau does not make the point explicitly, the long buildings at the bottom left of Neira represent the central purpose of the Dutch colonial presence: they contain warehouses filled with nutmeg and mace. An overview of the state of the nutmeg industry on Lontar is provided by data on the number of plantations (25) and labourers on the island ('approx. 1400 perk [plantation] slaves and other servants and 600 exiles'), the price of nutmeg and mace (differentiated by quality), annual production rates and estimated revenue (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:70).

Von Geusau concluded in his notes that the planters on Lontar were making a negligible profit. Indeed, the colonial spice trade was much reduced compared to its zenith in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Banda Islands remained culturally important to the Dutch until the end of the colonial period, having been the historic source of VOC wealth and power in the Indies. While Von Geusau's description of Neira and Lontar makes no reference to national pride, a sense of preserving colonial heritage,

↘
**3.4** Willem von Geusau, *Het Zonnegat* (circa 1851)

↓
**3.3** Willem von Geusau, *Neira en de Vuurberg* (1851)

together with continuing security threats to the island in the nineteenth century, might explain why the colonial government deemed the small revenues raised in the Banda Islands worth guarding.[7] Indeed, Von Geusau effectively provides the details of Dutch capabilities to defend their historic possessions, beginning with an account of the terrain. The elevation of the volcano opposite Neira is calculated with reference to C.G.C. Reinwardt, the great naturalist who had led one of the first government-sponsored expeditions through the Indies in the early colonial era (Von Geusau in Chong and Hamblyn 1994:68). Von Geusau was clearly familiar with Reinwardt's descriptions of the archipelago, and perhaps also with the work of some of the draftsmen who accompanied the 1820s expeditions, notably the brothers Theodoor and A.J. Bik, and Antoine Payen. It is possible that their images inspired Von Geusau's amateur interests as an artist. Von Geusau's military credentials return to the forefront in his account of the buildings on both the islands. He provides a brief history of Belgica and Nassau, as well as an account of their function at the time of his visit: the former was an armoury and prison, the latter a storehouse. The Banda islands are also revealed to be differentiated by function. Plantations and the military encampment are housed on Lontar, while local government resides on Neira; the buildings lining the coast road in *Neira en de Vuurberg* accommodate its distinguished civil servants. The house shown in *Het zonnegat*, nestled into Lontar's hillside, is revealed to be Orang Datang, the residence of a well-known *perkenier* (spice grower) (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:68–71).

The planter's house represents the axis connecting Von Geusau's images of the two islands. As though compelled by habit to declare his position, Von Geasau describes how Neira has been drawn from the perspective of the *perkenier*'s house. Conversely, the view of Lontar is the result of the artist's gaze being reflected back onto its origins.[8] Rather than adopt a panoramic perspective that might have combined these two sites together in one view, Von Geusau's approach creates a kind of landscape diptych where the space between the two islands is excised and each site reflects on its geographic opposite. The interrupted panoramic survey, though devoid of its usual connecting space and split into two images, nonetheless enables the mapping of strategic points. Importantly, like De Stuers, Von Geusau was reluctant to make the strategic significance of his landscapes visually explicit. Unlike De Stuers' work, however, Von Geusau's images contained the narrative bulk of his description of the Indies. Though never published in his lifetime, it can be deduced from the presentation of the watercolours on guilt-edged album sheets that the high-quality visual images were intended to be the centrepiece of Von Geusau's account.[9] Thus his emphasis on the picturesque qualities of the setting visually obscure the fact of Banda's military occupation. Only in Von Geusau's

**6** Only *Neira en de Vuurberg* is dated 1851, but it seems likely that *Het zonnegat* was completed at the same time (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:22).
**7** The illicit arms trade in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia frequently encompassed Banda (Tagliacozzo 2005:275). Pirates still marauded in the Moluccas during the nineteenth century (Warren 2008:126–30, 309).
**8** Von Geusau uses the same trick to depict a fortress on Java: *Gezigt op Noessa Kambangan* (View of Nusa Kambangan) shows Karang Bolang, a battery on an island off the south coast of Java. Its complementary image is *Gezigt op Tjilatjap* (View of Cilacap), a view of the garrisoned coastline as seen from Nusa Kambangan (Chong and Hamblyn 1994:56, 59.)
**9** A description of the original folio is given in Chong and Hamblyn 1994:10.

written description of the islands do we gain an impression that the Moluccas remained a military concern for the Dutch even in the nineteenth century, long after the demise of the spice trade.

Panoramic techniques in colonial landscape images like those created by De Stuers, Von Geusau and other Dutch artists of the nineteenth century combine two distinctive modes of representing landscape. The first is informed by a technical and military sensibility: surveys of topography and navigational maps that position the viewer's gaze in the privileged centre space in front of the picture plane. Art and cultural historians have shown that, until its deliberate deconstruction by modernist painters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the development of linear perspective in western art tended to foster the centrality and stability of the invisible viewer gazing at an objectified subject.[10] To some extent, then, all European panoramic landscapes produced before the late nineteenth century share the characteristic of claiming space through surveying. Indeed, Ann Jensen Adams (1994:40, 58, 65), writing on early modern Dutch landscape painting – perhaps the epitome of the traditional panoramic scene in European art – has cogently argued that panoramas naturalized and historicized radical changes to the Dutch environment effected by the massive land reclamation projects undertaken during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The tendency for landscape art to obscure radical disruption caused by change to the environment is also the distinguishing feature of colonial painting, both in the Netherlands Indies and in a wide range of other, often very different, colonial contexts discussed in the following section. This propensity defines the second distinctive characteristic of colonial panoramas: the formulation (by default, if not necessarily intent) of a narrative of non-intervention. Indies painters – more so than artists working in any other visual genre – produced images of the recent past as uncontentious, devoid of any overt colonial intervention in the nature and rhythm of Indonesian life, and therefore empty of any opposition to colonial rule. Most nineteenth-century landscape paintings of the Indies are remarkable for their silence on a colonial presence, particularly violence caused by encounters with rival colonial powers or with internal, indigenous opposition. Both types of conflict remained pressing concerns for the Dutch while the colonial state was expanding its geographical and political boundaries in the nineteenth century. De Stuers' tranquil images of war-torn Java and Von Geusau's picturesque views of the vulnerable Moluccas demonstrate how peaceful panoramas attempted to minimize the friction at these borders in the historical record.

Nineteenth-century panoramic paintings of Indies landscapes thus both utilized and reproduced the instruments of colonization, sharpening the skills of map-makers, surveyors, and navigators while serving as cultural tools of conquest

**10** For a discussion of the development of panoramic painting in European art, see Casey 2002:7; Grootenboer 2005:13. Michel Foucault's famous explication (2002:3–18) of *Las meninas* by the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez is also relevant; as is David Hockney's work (2001) on perspective in the development of European portrait painting.

**11** Sudjojono 2000:1–2. The Dutch-language extracts are in the original.

**12** Van Brakel 1999:122. On the Dezentjé family, see Houben 1992:39–50.

**13** See, for example, landscape paintings by Djaja, Wirodiredjo, and D. Djajamihardja held at the Museum Nusantara, Delft. The work of Abdullah Suriosubroto also falls within the *mooi Indië* genre.

in themselves, narrating a particular story of Dutch expansion that claimed new lands while depicting the process as uncontested. Nowhere is the visual discourse of naturalizing Dutch conquest more evident than in the genre known as *mooi Indië* (beautiful Indies) landscapes, a staple product of nineteenth-century Dutch colonial painting from the Indies.

## Tropical pastoral: Mooi Indië and the art(iface) of colonial conquest

> The paintings we see nowadays are nothing other than many landscapes (*landschappen*): sawah being plowed, rice fields inundated with clear and calm water, or a hut in the middle of a field; let us also not forget coconut palms or bamboo nearby, with bluish mountains in the background…
>
> Everything is very beautiful and romantic, like heaven, everything is very nice, calm and tranquil. Such paintings bear only one meaning: *Mooi-Indie*.
>
> […] The mountain, the coconut palm and the sawah have become the Trinity [*trimurti*] for these painters… And if a painter is audacious enough to paint subjects other than the Trinity, and attempts to sell such paintings at the galleries here, then a dealer will say: '*Dat is niet voor ons, meneer*' (This is not for us, sir). Meaning: '*Dat is niet voor de toeristen of de gepensionneerde [sic] Hollanders, meneer*' (This is not for the tourists or the retired Dutch [*orang Belanda*], sir). And such a painter, if he wishes not to be consumed by tuberculosis, may be better off becoming a teacher or looking for a job as a statistical clerk… [11]

The treatise on art and artists from which this droll excerpt is taken was written by Sindudarsono Sudjojono (1913–1986) and first published in Indonesian in 1946. Sudjojono was an Indonesian nationalist, a modernist painter, and a co-founder of and spokesperson for Persatuan Ahli-ahli Gambar Indonesia (Persagi, Union of Indonesian Painters), founded in 1937. He was one of a number of young Javanese painters who struggled to establish themselves within the conservative colonial art establishment of the 1930s. His first exhibition, hosted by the Bataviaasche Kunstkring (Batavian Art Circle) in 1941, was poorly received. Dutch critics held that Sudjojono and the other Indonesian artists whose works were shown would do well to imitate their European betters more faithfully (Holt 1967:198). The genre of painting that was preferred in colonial society, and that Persagi was stringently opposed to, was the *mooi Indië* scene. This genre had its origins in the early nineteenth century but, as Sudjojono's passage makes clear, continued to dominate art in the Indies until the very end of Dutch rule. Indeed, it was a popular category at international exhibitions and, as attested to by the memoir of Rob Nieuwenhuys, a common addition to the homes of well-to-do colonials. In *Vergeelde portretten* (Faded portraits), published in 1954 under the pseudonym of E. Breton de Nijs, Nieuwenhuys (1954:131) recalled an aunt of his who owned 'a large painting with a smoking, purple volcano against a pink background. Perhaps a Dezentjé!'. The reference to Ernest Dezentjé (1884–1972) is fitting. He was a popular painter whose name became a by-word for the *mooi Indië* landscape.[12] Dezentjé's 1925 oil painting of a Javanese rice field (Figure 3.5) is broadly representative of both his work and the *mooi Indië* genre.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were countless other painters active in the Indies, many of far lesser celebrity than Dezentjé, who attempted to make a living by producing similar images. Scholars of Dutch colonial art have noted this ubiquity, and many have intimated sympathy for the misgivings first expressed by Sudjojono without elaborating substantially upon the reasons for his (and their) objections (Kam 1999; Fan 2000; Guillermo 2000:45–6, 48). Greatest among his concerns was the expatriate mentality of European colonists: their lack of commitment to the Indies, and their fundamental separateness from the lives and experiences of ordinary Indonesians (Sudjojono 2000:2–3). This explanation fails to account for the motives of artists like Dezentjé – an Indo-European who was born and died in the Indies and therefore had strong connections to the country – not to mention the many Javanese artists who dabbled in *mooi Indië* scenes.[13] Given Sudjojono's eventual support for Communism (Holt 1967:216), his particular sensitivity to

how class distinctions may have informed colonial art is not unexpected. He noted, for instance, that colonial artists were silent on the contrast between the luxury that many Europeans had access to and the privations of the Indonesian working poor ('sugar factories and emaciated farmers, the motorcars of the rich and the trousers of the ordinary youth') (Sudjojono 2000:5).

This allusion to a ruling class in the act of maintaining their own interests begins to approach a more cogent explanation for the ommissions in *mooi Indië* paintings, one that is evoked by scholars who have labeled these works as colonial propaganda. Garret Kam (1999:24, 28), for instance, has emphasized the absence of forced labour and cultivation, and the environmental damage wrought by colonial expansion, in *mooi Indië* views. However, the connection between colonial self-preservation and idyllic country scenes has thus far been weakly theorized by scholars. Recent analyses, while usefully identifying silences in colonial landscape paintings, do so imprecisely and, beyond broad allusions to oppressive colonial discourses, generally offer little explication of the cultural framework in which such elisions occurred (Kam 1999; Fan 2000; Guillermo 2000). A close inspection of *mooi Indië* paintings reveals their defining characteristic to be the resounding absence of a colonial presence in any clearly identifiable form. *Mooi Indië* views thus foreclose the very notion of change necessary in order to identify the impact of Dutch colonialism. Such paintings were indeed silent on the violence and coercion common to colonial labour systems, and the environmental effects of colonial expansion, because *mooi Indië* painters generally avoided representing plantations, the landscapes in which these practices typically occurred.

**3.5** Ernest Dezentjé, *Rice field in Java* (1925)

For the duration of the colonial period, plantations of export crops constituted perhaps the single most important sector of the Netherlands Indies economy

(O'Malley 1990:136). The strength of this emphasis distinguished the Indies from many other colonies in the region. Indeed, for the period between 1914 and 1940, the Indies had one of the most export-reliant economies in Southeast Asia, rivalled only by British Malaya.[14] Foreign investment was also less concentrated in plantations in British India than in the Netherlands Indies.[15] In the nineteenth century, particularly during the implementation of the cultivation system, Java had been the chief source of Dutch plantation wealth. After 1870, foreign investment, agricultural expansion and export growth accelerated in the Outer Provinces. Even in the mid-1920s, however, roughly the same amount of land was still under estate ownership in Java as in the Outer Provinces.[16] By the end of the colonial period plantations were thus a significant component of the economy throughout the Netherlands Indies.

A significant proportion of European society in the Indies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries either directly or indirectly derived their livelihoods from the plantation economy. In 1930, of the 240,000 Europeans living in the Indies, around 26% were employed in the plantation sector. Another 9% were civil servants and military personnel. Between 1921 and 1939, an average of 10.6% of Indonesian net domestic product was accounted for by these groups. Another 5% was received by non-resident Europeans, and by the government (Maddison 1990:322). Given the fact that most painters in the Indies were career colonists – planters, civil servants, merchants, military men – and thus personal stakeholders in the profitability of Indies landscapes, one might expect their artwork to celebrate plantations, the landscapes nearest to their interests. The colonial bureaucracy had little cause for existence without property and fiscal matters to administer, or disputes between planters, lessors and peasants to arbitrate. The role of the militia was to police plantations and other colonial settlements, defend them from rival incursions, and participate in opening new lands for expansion. Planters and traders earned their salaries (and bonuses) from sugar, tea, coffee and the numerous other cultivars that had drawn the Dutch to colonize the Indies in the first instance. All these men and their dependents had an interest in seeing the plantation economy expand and prosper.

It is significant, then, that throughout the entire colonial period very few paintings made a prominent subject of plantations in the Indies. Most depict panoramic landscapes that are fertile and picturesque, but where plantations are only vaguely evident. The emphasis of painters was not on the contours and details of the landscapes that employed European workers in the Indies and enriched the Dutch treasury, European companies, and investors. Rather, it was on the promise inherent in vast, fertile, ostensibly empty lands that invited the viewer to reflect on two related ideals: first, the image of a rural world that was fast receding in Europe; and second, the appearance of a sweeping frontier on which Europeans could exercise

**14** Booth 1990:281. Booth's comparison encompasses India, Thailand, Ceylon, the Philippines and Indonesia. Economic growth in British Malaya relied even more heavily on agricultural exports (Maddison 1990:325).

**15** In 1940, foreign investment concentrated in plantations made up 45% of total investment in the Netherlands Indies. In 1938, plantations absorbed only 16% of British investment in India (Hill 1988:2–3).

**16** Booth 2007:58. Between 1921 and 1925, 1.33 million hectares of arable land on Java was under plantation agriculture, compared to 1.31 million hectares in the Outer Provinces.

their industriousness free from impediment. Appraising his own freshly-painted *mooi Indië* scene, a planter or administrator working in the Indies might perhaps contemplate a pleasant vista of broad lands subject to his authority (or designs), and congratulate himself both on the profitability and moral rectitude of his employment. Similarly, viewers at a world fair in Europe could satisfy their curiosity over the appearance of tropical landscapes, and at the same time assure themselves that Dutch colonists in the Indies were ethically pursuing opportunities in the colonies. The *mooi Indië* scene thus provided a canvas upon which to project colonial ideals. On its surface, coercion, modernity and resistance were passed over by the surveying gaze of benevolent colonizers intent on demonstrating that they worked harmoniously with nature and tradition.

The paintings of the Java-based tobacco planter Abraham Salm, already encountered in previous chapters, serve to illustrate. Salm's art was popular in the Indies and the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century. He was inspired by the beautiful countryside surrounding his plantation in Malang, East Java, and by other regions familiar to him throughout the island. In all his works Salm refrained from dwelling on the source of his livelihood as a planter, obscuring the neat rows of monocultures that often characterized European-run commercial estates within the broad contours of panoramic landscapes, and eliminating labour from the fields. This pictorial ambiguity is demonstrated in *Het land Tjitrap* (The countryside of Citrap) (Figure 3.6), situated in the highlands south of Batavia, a region of West Java settled by many Dutch planters (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:20,

**3.6** Abraham Salm, *Het land Tjitrap* (mid-nineteenth century)

68). In fact, the Bataviaasche Ommelanden (environs of Batavia) were among the oldest regions of European settlement in the Indies. In Salm's painting, ordered fields on a fertile plain are nestled at the base of a mountain range. In keeping with panoramic conventions, the view is surveyed from an elevated foreground, which here includes a planter's or administrator's house – the only clear sign of a European presence. The image highlights Salm's restraint relative to painters like Dezentjé who were active in the late-colonial period: Salm's colours are muted compared with the tones favoured by Dezentjé. The ingredients of the classic *mooi Indië* scene are nonetheless apparent in Salm's work: palms, a smoking mountain, fertile plains, and some rustic staffage in the form of resting peasants. Little evidence of colonial settlement is provided.

*Gezicht op het Kawische Gebergte en op de tabaks-onderneming* (View of the Kawi mountains and tobacco estate) (Figure 3.7) continues on this theme. The painting shows a plantation in East Java that may well have been Salm's own (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:70). The landscape that occupies most of the foreground appears pastoral rather than agricultural, due to Salm's focus on grazing goats and resting shepherds rather than the ordered fields of tobacco plants. Apart from the image's title, only the sloping rooves of the drying sheds, barely visible at the foot of the mountains, indicate a commercial estate. Even this oblique reference to an export crop is entirely invisible in Salm's other views of plantation regions. His *Landschap in de Residentie Bantam* (Landscape in Banten Residency),[17] much like the view of Citrap, overlooks a fertile plain in West Java from an elevated foreground populated by peasants' huts and

**3.7** Abraham Salm, *Gezicht op het Kawische Gebergte en op de tabaks-onderneming* (mid-nineteenth century)

five Sundanese figures. The midground is too distant to make out details, and hence it is impossible to conclude whether plantations are present.

Salm's emphasis in all his works was on the picturesque qualities of the landscape: the contours and colours of the land, the loftiness of its mountain peaks, its great expanse – all features that provided an exotic contrast to the flat landscapes of the Netherlands. There is little visible detail to betray the presence of Europeans and the plantation economy whose extension accelerated after 1830 when the colonial government introduced the cultivation system, a regime of forced export crop cultivation imposed upon agricultural households. The Pasuruan Residency in which Salm's own tobacco plantation was located accounted for between 10% and 12% of the total area subject to forced cultivation between 1840 and 1850 (Elson 1994:109). Batavia was outside the scope of the system although, as noted above, its environs had been subject to continuous plantation agriculture, especially sugarcane, since the seventeenth century (Abeyasekere 1987:25, 39). Banten, though not the most productive Residency on Java (as was famously bemoaned by the ambitious Max Havelaar in Multatuli's eponymous novel), was still subject to forced coffee cultivation, the most lucrative crop for the Dutch by far and one whose production peaked in Banten during the late 1850s (Elson 1994:68–9, 139) – within recent memory for Salm. As a planter himself, he would have been keenly aware of the expansion of export agriculture in Java. The 29 years that Salm spent living and working on the island between 1837 and 1871 were in fact roughly congruent with the duration of the cultivation system (circa 1830–1870) itself. And yet Salm's panoramas, which continued to be shown at exhibitions in Europe after his death in 1876 (Bastin 1991:14), gave little indication of the policies imposed upon the landscapes and labourers of Java during his lifetime. Instead, they focused on the promise inherent in the apparent fertility and emptiness of those lands, representing them as largely uninhabited by a Javanese population which was in fact increasing in the nineteenth century (particularly in the latter half) (Boomgaard 1989:165, 197), untouched by colonization, and thus not adversely affected by the Dutch extraction of profit from rural households.

The trait of eliding colonial intervention while simultaneously clearing cultural and physical space for it typifies landscape paintings from a surprisingly diverse range of colonial contexts.[18] The stylistic and thematic similarities between works by British and Dutch colonial artists, for example, are particularly striking given the geographical and historical distinctions that ought to differentiate them. The common heritage of naturalism and realism within European landscape painting of the nineteenth century arguably should have made colonial artists more sensitive to the idiosyncrasies of ecology and economy in different parts of the imperial world. What broadly unites all

**17** Hamblyn and Chong 1991:plate 16. In the same volume, see also *Gezicht op het land Tjiliboet* (View of Cilibut), plate 5, which is very similar.
**18** On British India, see Tobin 2005; De Almeida and Gilpin 2005. On other British colonies, see Barringer, Quilley and Fordham 2007. On colonial Australia as an example of a British white settler colony, see Bonyhady 2000; Hoorn 2007.
**19** Although cattle and buffalo numbers increased in Java in the second half of the nineteenth century, large ruminants were mainly employed as draught animals for agriculture here and in most parts of the Netherlands Indies (excepting areas like Ambon, East Java and Madura). Stockbreeding for meat and dairy production, where it occurred, was oriented toward domestic consumption, particularly around areas where Europeans were concentrated (Boomgaard 2004:260, 277; Barwegen 2004:291, 297–8, 300).
**20** See A.J. Bik, *Sugar factory situated on the estate of Serpon* (1842), appearing as a lithograph in J.J. van Braam, *Vues de Java* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1840); Hermanus Theodorus Hesselaar's *The Kedawong sugar factory near Pasuruan (East Java)* held at the Rijksmusem Amsterdam, inv. no. c-1519; Salm, *Sugar factory at Pangka in the Tegal Residency*, in Hamblyn and Chong 1991:plate 4.
**21** G.J. Ensink, *The Cigombong tea corporation, West Java* (1926), held at the KIT Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. 1908-1.
**22** Jussim and Lindquist-Cock 1985:41; Groeneveld 1989:15; Edwards 1992:4; Maxwell 2000:11.

these colonial forms of landscape painting, however, is their privileging of European modes of depiction and ways of seeing above indigenous perspectives, as well as the claims to land that such representations legitimized in favour of the pre-existing rights of native and autochthonous peoples (Hoorn 2007:78). Many recent scholarly observations on Australian landscape art – which one might expect to differ most substantially from images of tropical Asia – also hold true for Indies paintings. Panoramas were very popular in both settings (Gooding 2007; Hoorn 2007:16, 32). Commercial cultivation was rarely depicted. The preferred style among painters, even in the early twentieth century, was resolutely naturalist, and thus in opposition to the abstract trends sweeping Europe (Hoorn 2007:90, 202). Historian Jeanette Hoorn's remark (2007:30) that '[w]ithout the management of dissent there could be no effective exercise of power, and without power, there could be no pastoral landscape' in Australian art also resonates in Indies painting, where violence and coercion were routinely omitted from European painting. Finally, Hoorn's general conclusion (2007:90) that colonial Australian paintings 'provide[d] comfort for the settler culture' provides an equally appropriate assessment of *mooi Indië* views.

Perhaps the most surprising similarity between colonial Australian art and its European counterparts in tropical Asia is the pastoral theme that permeates both painting cultures. That pastoral scenes should have been popular in colonial Australia is no great revelation given the prosperity generated by sheep and cattle farming. However, Beth Fowkes Tobin (2005:9) has argued that Indian landscapes in British colonial painting were equally 'typified by their use of pastoral and edenic tropes'. The portrayal of fertile but sparsely populated and scarcely cultivated expanses of idyllic countryside likewise exemplified *mooi Indië* painting. Yet, as has already been demonstrated, the Netherlands Indies was better known (and prized) by Europeans for its plantation economy than for its pastoral sector.[19] A specialized nomenclature for European landscape art from colonial Southeast Asia might thus be necessary. 'Tropical pastoral' appropriately expresses the inherent contradiction in *mooi Indië* scenes and their ilk, one born of the omissions from colonial painting that signalled its very appeal among European painters and their audiences. Tropical pastoral scenes, like their siblings within the broader pastoral genre, presented 'a frictionless space devoid of labour with an abundance of nature's gifts in a calm and leisurely setting' (Hoorn 2007:9).

Abraham Salm's distant, ambiguous views of plantations are representative of the images produced by European painters during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the Indies as well as other parts of the colonial world. Rarely did European painters venture any further into these landscapes. Though the cultivation system stimulated construction of a significant amount of infrastructure to support export crops, notably sugar, the number of paintings of processing factories can be counted on one hand. Among the better known examples are images by A.J. Bik, Hermanus Theodorus Hesselaar and Abraham Salm himself.[20] The latter's view of a sugar factory reveals a frankness about the existence of a flourishing colonial sugar industry that is surprising, given his apparent reticence at depicting his own tobacco concession. An image of a tea factory in West Java by G.J. Ensink more or less completes the oeuvre of colonial paintings that represent the proto-industrial landscapes emerging around export crops in nineteenth-century Java.[21]

The absence of plantations and processing factories in Indies landscape paintings was counterbalanced by their prevalence in colonial photography, a technology extolled in the nineteenth century for its ostensibly unrivalled capacity to portray a 'true' likeness of reality.[22] Indeed, photography began to eclipse painting and other hand-drawn modes of representation as a means of visual reportage soon after its invention in the mid-nineteenth century, in Europe as well as in its colonies. This was particularly the case in the second half of the nineteenth century, when technological advances ensured cheaper, more readily duplicated photographs and printed reproductions. Plantation photographs were thus seen by a wide audience of late-colonial viewers. Some images were intended to inform and illustrate, others to entertain and educate. Many were produced in

commercial studios, in Europe as well as the Indies, to be sold as souvenirs. The studio of Woodbury & Page alone was responsible for scores of photographs similar to the image of a tea plantation in Garut, West Java (1874) (Figure 3.8). Photographs of Indies plantations were also shown at exhibitions and world fairs across the metropoles of Europe and in the colonies. During the height of the vogue for exhibitions, between 1851 and 1930, countless photographs of Asian plantations were shown to millions of European viewers passing through colonial pavillions in Paris, Amsterdam, London and other imperial metropoles. These exhibits were intended to provide a persuasively realistic image of the tropics to the majority who had never been there. They also served to educate European consumers on the systems that enabled the bellies of the expanding middle classes to be filled with tea, coffee, sugar, chocolate and other imported comestibles.[23]

Many photographs were commissioned by corporations and civil servants to augment reports on the profits and functionings of plantations, to illustrate campaigns for attracting investors, or to commemorate successful ventures and luminous careers (Zweers 1989:108; Boom 2005:253, 257). Photographers in the service of government or business provided a substantial visual record of plantation landscapes in the Indies, perhaps because both the medium and the industry were associated in the colonies with modernity and technological progress. In the late-colonial period, plantations were increasingly run as 'factories in the field', to employ Peter Boomgaard's pertinent phrase:[24] crops were planted according to precise measurements intended to maximize yield, harvested by small armies of workers and often processed at on-site factories ready for export. Across the Indies,

**3.8** Woodbury & Page, *Waspada tea plantation, Garut* (1874)

photographers diligently recorded each stage of major cultivars' life cycles, venturing into Javanese coffee estates, Sumatran rubber fields and Moluccan spice gardens to capture in meticulous detail the procedures required for rearing, harvesting, and processing each crop.[25] On Javanese sugar plantations, photographers even recorded the mechanical paraphernalia (motorized tractors, processing machinery) associated with one of the most modern, industrialized agricultural sectors in the world leading up the Second World War.[26]

Colonial photographers in the Indies thus recorded a broad range of contemporary landscapes in ways that not only revealed but frequently celebrated their modern, industrial nature and their significance to the Dutch colonial economy. This is not to suggest that colonial photography persistently avoided *mooi Indië* conventions. On the contrary, European audiences at colonial exhibitions and collectors of postcards and souvenir photos would have seen photographic images that resonated with painterly *mooi Indië* scenes. Views of colonial holiday resorts in mountain regions like Buitenzorg – the Dutch predecessor to the better-known 'hill stations' of British India and Malaya (see Chapter 2) – were particularly prone to representation in the *mooi Indië* style. Photographs of river valley views and mountain mists in the Buitenzorg region found their way into souvenir albums as early as the 1860s, at precisely the same time that *mooi Indië* paintings were beginning to become popular.[27] The same conventions for depicting colonial notions of tropical beauty were thus deployed in both painting and photography. The key distinction between these visual genres was that the landscapes depicted in photography included but were not limited to *mooi Indië* scenes. The subject of colonial landscape paintings was, by contrast, solely restricted to tropical pastoral views and, as we shall see presently, images of subsistence agriculture.

Indies painting was markedly distinguished from colonial photography by its complete silence on the landscapes that were responsible for producing the principle portion of Dutch colonial wealth. Painters thus automatically circumvented the potentially vexed question of how that wealth was extracted, a topic that photographers who ventured into plantation landscapes could hardly avoid. Photographers' images not only revealed the regimentation of the late colonial plantation landscape, but also the hierarchical social structures, differentiated by employment status and race, that characterized plantation life. At the lowest end of the plantation order were the manual workers: free or indentured Indonesian men, women and children. Their Asian supervisors occupied the next rung on the ladder. These people were distinguishable by costume (they tended to wear more clothing than coolies), and were usually not engaged in heavy labour. The European overseers who formed the apex of the hierarchy were almost always pictured striking imperious poses in white suits and

**23** Maxwell 2000:1–15; Hoffenberg 2001:102, 115; Aldrich 2005:64; Bloembergen 2006:205, 235, 300; Dujardin 2007; Flanders 2007:3–41.

**24** 'Fabrieken in het veld' (Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:312).

**25** See photographs throughout Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001.

**26** Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:155. For a recent intervention in historical debates on the dynamics of sugar economies, particularly their modern, industrial qualities, see Bosma, Giusti-Cordero and Knight 2007.

**27** See, for example, the photographs in J.A. Meessen, *Souvenir à l'Inde* (1867): KITLV Album 6. Woodbury & Page also produced photographs of Buitenzorg in the 1870s and 1880s.

*topi* (hats).[28] A 1920 photograph of a tobacco plantation in Deli, East Sumatra (Figure 3.9), reveals the social and environmental regulation that characterized plantations in the region. Regimented landscapes were a suitable metaphor for the strict discipline governing the life and work of Indonesian labourers, an order that was enforced by legal and illegal modes of coercion and brutality. The violence that frequently erupted on Deli plantations in the late colonial period, and the stiff penalties – including corporal punishment and execution – that were exacted against non-compliant coolies, has been well documented (Stoler 1985; Breman 1990b; Houben et al. 1999). Though photographs of such events were rare and, when extant, were certainly not intended for public circulation, some plantation companies did occasionally keep photographs of executions as part of their records.[29] In such a context, the camera was an extension of colonial surveillance mechanisms, training a documentary eye on recalcitrance and the enforcement of order. Just as photographs showed monocultures in the fields, so they sometimes also revealed how behaviours that erred from the expectations of colonial overseers were weeded out.

Violence thus disturbed the plantation landscapes of the Netherlands Indies. Displacement also rippled their surface. The long-term effect of large-scale commercial plantation agriculture throughout Southeast Asia was to displace small farmers onto increasingly marginal lands (Pelzer 1978:140). On Sumatra, tea, rubber and tobacco estates relied upon imported, indentured Chinese and Javanese labour. Such transnational migrations were institutionalized practice in European plantation regimes throughout the imperial world. The difference between Dutch colonialism in the Indies and imperial rule in British white settler colonies, for instance, thus appears to be one of degree and not kind. The displacement of indigenous people, violent conquest countered by aggressive resistance: these were common occurences in colonial landscapes across political and geographic boundaries. The broad currency of pastoral tropes in diverse colonial contexts is thus perhaps not surprising. More consistently than colonial photographs, *mooi Indië* paintings smoothed over the jagged edges of conflict by adopting the distant view of the panorama and applying a pastoral gloss to plantation landscapes. The absence of labourers was crucial to maintaining this fiction. Where, then, did all the rural households who made up the vast majority of the Indonesian population go in Indies paintings? The favourite locale of European artists was the rice field, far from the fraught landscapes of colonial enterprise.

## Colonial georgic: Subsistence agriculture and the Indonesian peasant 'type'

At first glance, the prevalence of Indies paintings that depict peasant farmers working in rice fields seems to contradict Sudjojono's observation that Dutch art from the Indies

**28** See the following photographs in the KITLV image collection: inv. no. 5433 shows Asian supervisors policing a sugar plantation at Mojokerto in 1916; inv. no. 8018 shows Asian and European supervisors overseeing women working on a tea plantation at Sukabumi around 1925; inv. no. 12191, from an album entitled *Java; Het rijk van woud en vulkaan ontgonnen* (Java; The land begotten from forest and volcano) (circa 1900). It shows a European supervisor walking between the rows of a sugar cane plantation, overseeing Javanese workers bent low over the cane shoots. See also plate 11 in Breman 1990b, which shows rows of young tobacco plants being tended by coolies with Asian and European supervisors nearby, who are distinguished from the manual workers by their costume and posture.
**29** See the two photographs on the title page of Breman 1990b. See also the image of a public flogging at plate 6 in Houben et al. 1999.

consistently avoided the realities of everyday life for ordinary Indonesians. Rice was, after all, the most important subsistence crop in large parts of the archipelago, and an important component of political, social and religious life for diverse Indonesian communities (Touwen 2001:246–52; Henley 2004; Christie 2004, 2007). Paintings of rice paddies dotted with peasants and buffalo thus drew attention to rural landscapes and ways of life that reflected the genuine concerns and activities of the majority of the Indonesian population. The pervasiveness of these images contrasts markedly with the scarcity of plantation views, a disparity hinged upon the colonial aversion to controversy in landscape painting. Filling the void of images that might have shown environments supporting export cultivation, organized labour and colonial modernity was an abundance of paintings concentrated on subsistence agriculture, organic community and pre-colonial tradition.

Leo Eland's (1884–1952) *Rice field in West Java* (Figure 3.10) is broadly representative of painterly treatments of rice farming during the late-colonial era. The image includes the usual ingredients of *mooi Indië* landscapes – majestic mountains, palm trees, a rural settlement – and adds to these an agricultural scene. Like Ernest Dezentjé's view of a rice field in Java (Figure 3.5), Eland's painting employs focal distance to reduce the farmers in the picture to small figures whose individual features are indistinct and whose exertions are all but invisible. The diminutive figure glimpsed from afar was a favourite device of colonial painters. Distant workers often appeared as little more than rustic staffage whose specific tasks – sowing, weeding, inspecting for pests, transplanting seedlings – are indiscernable from one another, and whose perspiration,

**3.9** *Tobacco plantation in Deli* (1920)

tired muscles and strained faces are obscure. When visible at all, peasants' work frequently appeared laconic. The result of the panoramic perspective adopted in most colonial paintings of rice farming was thus to alienate the image of the Indonesian peasant from the graft of agricultural work.

The same effect was produced in closer views of rural labour. Such paintings invariably presented Indonesian peasants as universal 'types', iconic abstractions that frequently took the form of a bronze young man, muscled if rather thin-looking, barefoot and naked to the waist, plodding along a path or wading through a field, accompanied by his buffalo and bearing a

**3.10** Leo Eland, *Rice field in West Java* (before 1939)

load across his shoulders. Possibly the best known image of the late-colonial period in this genre was Hendrik Paulides' *Java*, a portrait completed in 1924 (Figure 3.11). Hendrik Paulides (1892–1967) was one of the new breed of colonial artists to visit the Indies in the interwar years, part of a veritable swarm who descended on the tropics during the 1920s and 1930s and who were particularly enamoured of Bali. These were painters who differed qualitatively from their nineteenth-century predecessors. Many were professionally trained in Europe and managed to make a reasonable living from their work. Indeed, several made luminous careers for themselves in the Indies, and those who settled in Bali (particularly around Ubud) left a significant legacy to the development of dance, music and painting on the island.[30] Paulides visited Java between 1922 and 1924, followed by Bali in 1929 and 1930 (Hammann 1997:8–9, 61). These two journeys were to furnish him with a lifetime's worth of subject matter. His specialization in murals and large paintings proved to be a format particularly suited to colonial and world exhibitions, to which Paulides became a regular contributor throughout the 1930s.[31] He also succeeded in attracting official patronage from prestigious sources, like Governor-General A.C.D. de Graeff (whose portrait he painted in 1930), as well as the Colonial Institute and the Ministry of Finance. The latter commissioned six illustrated wall maps from Paulides during the 1930s for the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.[32]

*Java*, Paulides' most famous image, found special favour among the art establishment in the Netherlands. It won Paulides a prize and was henceforth regarded as being among his best works (Hammann 1997:39). The very title of the painting signals its iconic intention: the peasant who forms the centrepiece is Java, and Java is the peasantry, here represented by a sinuous young man in profile with bare feet and naked chest wearing a *sarung* wrapped around his waist and a conical hat to shade his face, and carrying a load of tropical fruits and other produce. The figure moves through an abstract landscape that has been reduced to basic geometric elements. Patchwork fields, triangular mountains, palm trees that are amalgamated into a single mass of foliage, and a puff of cloud provide the barest references necessary to signify the quintessentially tropical – a modern, graphic version of the traditional *mooi Indië* scene.[33] Perhaps in a bid to make the most of his success, the *Java* figure appeared repeatedly in unaltered form throughout Paulides' work,[34] even though he was clearly capable of more nuanced renditions of peasant life.[35] In *Het Oosten* (The East), part of a mural that Paulides designed for the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam, agricultural work and prosperity were signified by a series of 'traditional' figures: women pounding rice and making *batik*, a peasant and his buffalo, and the artist's prize-winning *Java* figure.[36]

Even more pronounced abstractions of 'the' Indonesian peasant are to be found in the paintings of Walter Spies (1895–1942),

**30** The painters Rudolf Bonnet, Walter Spies, Adrien le Mayeur, Theo Meier, and Willem Hofker, the choreographer and dance critic Beryl de Zoete, and the musicologist Colin McPhee are some of the more noteworthy expatriates to have influenced the arts of Bali during the 1920s, 1930s and beyond (Rhodius 1964; Rhodius and Darling 1980; Hitchcock and Norris 1995; Spruit 1997; Couteau 1999; Neka and Kam 2000; McPhee 2002).

**31** Paulides entered works into the 1931 Colonial Exhibition, the 1937 World Exhibition and the 1939 World Fair (Hammann 1997:73, 83, 87; Bloembergen 2006:298, 410).

**32** Several murals were produced for the Colonial Institute (now the KIT Tropenmuseum Amsterdam), not all of which are extant. However, the triptych that currently graces the entrance hall of the KIT Tropenmuseum was painted by Paulides. He continued to receive commissions into the 1950s (Hammann 1997:61, 77, 85–6, 110–1).

**33** Hammann 1997:55. At *Java*'s feet are two female figures who symbolize Javanese performing arts, dance and music.

**34** See *Indonesiër* (Indonesian), also painted in 1924, which shows the Java-figure steering a *prau* (small boat) through choppy waters, and *Het Oosten* (The East) (undated), part of a triptych that was intended for a mural, which shows the *Java*-figure exiting on the right (Hammann 1997:49).

**35** See *Javaansche sawah* (Javanese sawah), 1927 (Hammann 1997:40).

**36** The mural, incidentally, never came to fruition (Hamman 1997:49).

**3.11** Hendrik Paulides, *Java* (1924)

a German artist active on Bali during the 1920s and 1930s. Like Paulides' *Java*, Spies' Balinese peasant figures stood for all peasants rather than for the individual farmers he must have regularly encountered in the vicinity of his house, and for all times instead of the interwar period that he himself experienced.[37] Spies' technique of duplicating figures within the same painting, often on different planes, had the effect of reinforcing the universality of his peasant type. By contrast, images of peasants in the Balinese paintings that Spies and his European contemporaries were intimately familiar with – and in fact helped promote to western buyers – were often richly detailed and individuated.[38] Like other Indies artists, Spies greatly attenuated the toil of his peasant figures, depicting them posing and resting, or using scale and perspective to subordinate their labour to the splendor of the tropical landscape.[39]

While images of native types are more frequently associated with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photography (Edwards 1992; Maxwell 2000), Paulides' and Spies' paintings suggest that artists working in other media were equally attracted to figures that personified the exotic tropics. Such caricatures at once fulfilled a growing European appetite for ethnographic visual information, and exemplified gendered colonial assumptions about rural family life in Southeast Asia. That peasant types in Indies paintings were often male perhaps reflects the patriarchal bias of the painters, most of whom were men themselves. As we shall see in Chapter 5, colonial painters tended to produce sexualized associations between Indonesian women and uncultivated tropical nature, particularly river landscapes. Women's roles as workers were of less interest despite the fact that – as the colonial bureaucracy knew perfectly well and as photographers carefully documented – they regularly participated in subsistence as well as export-oriented agriculture. J.W. Meijster's 1920s photograph of a tea-picker on an East Sumatran estate represents possibly one of the best-known examples from the late-colonial Indies of an image foregrounding female plantation labour (Figure 3.12). Indeed, harvesting was a female-only occupation on tea plantations (Locher-Scholten 2000c:69). Women also contributed significantly to rice farming. In the 1920s, for example, the Agricultural Information Service reported that women's labour accounted for 50–80% of the time required to produce rice in East Java (Locher-Scholten 2000c:56). These facts, which must have been plainly observable to most long-term residents of the Indies, seemed not to concern colonial painters. Their preoccupation with 'traditional' life projected patriarchal European views of the household onto idyllic images of the Indonesian countryside.

Indies paintings of rice fields and

peasant farmers promoted an historically and culturally specific georgic aesthetic in the visual culture of the Indies. 'Georgics' typically refers to the cultural heritage of Virgil's didactic poem of the same title, which extolled the moral virtues of country living and the beauty of nature. Art historians have identified the impact of Virgil's *The Georgics* on early modern European visual culture in diverse guises, chief among them the celebration of labour (and thus, the triumph of culture over nature) in seventeenth-century Dutch still life paintings and scenes of rural life (De Jong 1990:23; Bryson 1990:21). Georgic discourses are also evident in European colonial art from the modern era. Recent analyses of British colonial painting in Australia reveal the transformative symbolism of European labour in forging productive landscapes that supported white settlement (Bonyhady 2000:67–100; Hoorn 2007:10, 62–3). By contrast, colonial paintings of rice farming in the Netherlands Indies differ qualitatively from georgic conventions in Continental painting as well as art from white settler colonies. To begin with, Indies paintings of subsistence agriculture idealized an Asian sphere of labour rather than European ventures. More importantly, Dutch colonial views of rice farming were devoid of the transformative element that defines georgic aesthetics in other European contexts. The subsistence work that Dutch colonial paintings celebrated fell outside those fields of production (notably, plantation agriculture) where the environmental and social impact of colonialism was most evident. It was therefore the *absence* of transformation – the imperceptibility of European intervention, and the ostensible continuity of traditional modes of land use among the Indonesian

**3.12** J.W. Meijster, *Tea-picking on an estate of the Nederlandsch-Indisch Land Syndicaat, east coast of Sumatra* (1921–1926)

peasantry – that characterized colonial georgics in Indies painting.

The intellectual foundations of this distinctive visual grammar partly resided in stadial theories of civilization that were informed by Enlightenment notions of progress. Such theories were especially influential throughout the British empire (Maloney 2001; Gascoigne 2002:148–68; Driver and Martins 2005:13–4), but were also given visual form and cultural substance by Dutch landscape paintings of subsistence agriculture in the Indies. Stadial models of development placed human societies along a continuum between barbarity and civilization according to the primary means of their production. Commercial societies like those of western Europe ranked at the apex of this economic hierarchy. The lower tiers were occupied by agricultural and hunter-gatherer communities. Colonial intellectuals rarely conceded that non-European societies might attain civilization within the theoretical possibilities of the paradigm, tending instead to characterize a broad range of indigenous societies as incapable of improvement without European tutelage. The need for European intervention in Asian economies was also justified with reference to environmentally deterministic models of civilization, where differences between societies were explained with reference to climate and geography (Alatas 1977; Savage 1984:24, 69–115; Arnold 2006). The stereotype of the abundant tropics that had pervaded colonial thought on Southeast Asian societies since the early modern era held that the fertility of equatorial climates, together with heat and humidity, discouraged exertion among native populations. Europeans, by contrast, accustomed to a harsh climate that required innovation and endeavour for survival, were more inclined *by nature* to commerce and industry. Thus Europeans were well positioned to instruct Southeast Asian peasants in the necessities of discipline and vigour required for a flourishing export sector. That local farmers were not inclined to be diverted from their own lands and labours in the interests of colonial plantation agriculture was routinely dismissed by colonial scholars and administrators as evidence of the indolence nurtured by a generous climate. Asian slavery and its successor, indentured labour, were frequently justified by Europeans on these grounds. The transmigrations of Javanese and Chinese labourers in the Netherlands Indies were ideologically supported by European colonists through allusion to the same discourse of tropical indolence (whereby workers that would not co-operate must be compelled) until well into the twentieth century.[40]

The idea that Asian societies in the tropics differed fundamentally from those of northern Europe had adherents among the ostensibly progressive cohorts of westerners who began to descend upon the Indies in large numbers during the late-colonial period. The influx of Europeans and Americans was stimulated by the relaxation of immigration restrictions in the Indies following the

**37** See *Landscape* in Spruit 1997:71; *Desadurchblik* (View through a village) and *Wasserlandschaft* (Water landscape) in Rhodius and Darling 1980:38 and 30, respectively; as well as *Het landschap en zijn kinderen* (The landscape and its children) in Terwen-De Loos 1972:129. Spies' *Heimkehrende Javaner* (Javanese returning home) (1924) constitutes a rare exception to the peasant 'type', as it shows some figures as individuals with distinct features (although the first and last figures in the row, even here, look remarkably similar to one another).

**38** Vickers 1996:6. Vickers notes, for instance, that Balinese artists were careful to preserve visual indicators of caste distinctions.

**39** See *Sawahs im Preangergebirge* (Sawahs in the Priangan ranges) (1923) and *Sawah Landschaft mit Gunung Agung* (Sawah landscape with Mount Agung) (1937) in Rhodius and Darling 1980:41; and *Ploughing peasant* (1932) in Van Brakel 1999:114.

**40** In attempting to explain labour shortages and justifying the necessity for imported, indentured labour, planters in East Sumatra frequently referred to the indolence of local populations. Javanese coolies were ultimately preferred to Chinese workers here because it was widely held that, though less industrious than the Chinese, Javanese (being natives to the tropics) were more docile, and thus made for a compliant workforce (Breman 1990a:27, 1990b:16, 40–1).

introduction of the 1870 agrarian reforms, together with late nineteenth-century advancements in steamship technologies that allowed for faster, cheaper international travel. For the first time in the history of the Netherlands Indies, large numbers of European migrants were free from the obligation to work in the colonial bureaucracy, military or plantation sector. Professionally-trained painters with a view to making a living from their work were thus at liberty to prosper or perish on the merits of their artistic talents alone.

Like their French and British counterparts in the Middle East, North Africa and China, Dutch artists ventured to the colonies to seek inspiration from the exotic landscapes and peoples of the Indies. Unlike the French and British 'Orientalists', as they came to be known, Dutch painters in the tropics had little impact on European art, and were unaffected by the waves of modernist trends that swept through the west from the late nineteenth century onwards. In the Netherlands Indies, few painters dared venture beyond the conventions of Impressionism, let alone explore subsequent trends. None portrayed industrial landscapes, or the life inside poor villages and slums. Those who did were considered failed artists, as the colonial reception of Sudjojono's work attests. Dutch artists like Pieter Ouborg, one of the few Indies painters to experiment with abstract styles, were equally unsuccessful (Ten Duis and Haase 1990:6). In the Indies, the imperative to innovate was almost entirely absent among painters. Thus the work of late-colonial artists rarely departed, either in form or content, from the images created by previous generations of painters in the Indies.

This broad temporal continuity is accounted for by a significant anti-modernist inclination among Indies painters. As Edward W. Said's influential works (1978, 1993) on intellectual and literary forms of Orientalism in Europe have made clear, most colonizing cultures developed a nostalgic view of their colonial possessions as suspended in pre-modern time, a view that helped to foster a combination of insatiable curiosity for 'the Orient' and an unshakable sense of its fundamental difference from Europe. One of the more significant nuances passed over by Said and other postcolonial theorists who focused exclusively on the totalizing nature of Orientalist discourses was the strong current of anti-modernism in European art and culture that thrived independently of references to the colonies. With the advent of Romanticism in the early nineteenth century, European art and literature began to articulate a veneration of nature and 'traditional' rural life, in opposition to the encroachment of industrialization and urbanization (McKusick 1988:431). The Romantic movement was relatively attenuated in the Netherlands, arriving later and achieving lesser prominance than in Germany, Britain or France (Tilborgh 1984:181–2; Rupke 1988:212–3; Van Zonneveld 1997:100–3). Nonetheless, like their counterparts throughout the Continent, Dutch Romantic painters revived a cultural interest in rural life and celebrated nature undisturbed by industrialization (Ten-Doesschate Chu 1997:81; De Leeuw 1997:31–2). Rural labour in Dutch art was frequently idealized in ways that resonated sympathetically with colonial depictions of Indonesian rice cultivation. Peasants in Netherlandish painting functioned as 'little more than accessories' in scenes that were primarily intended to evoke patriotic appreciation of 'typical' Dutch landscapes (De Leeuw 1997:33). This was particularly the case for the paintings of The Hague School which 'deliberately ignored modern life' in its renderings of local landscapes, preferring polders, dunes and heaths to townscapes and industrial views (De Leeuw 1997:31). Dutch painters avoided scenes of modern life for much longer than their counterparts in the rest of Europe, who had already shifted their attentions to train stations, factories and city ghettos while The Hague School was reaching its zenith (De Leeuw 1997:31–4). In the Netherlands, then, the tradition of painterly nostalgia for a rural past fast receding in the wake of urban and industrial modernity thrived in visual culture a little later and longer than in other parts of Europe.

Anti-modernist sympathies also resonated with time-honoured European discourses on the abundant tropics. In the early twentieth century, 'gentle' was more likely to replace 'indolent' as the adjective of choice among some colonial observers describing Southeast Asian work ethics, a nomenclature

that signalled an attenuated adherence to environmentally deterministic paradigms rather than outright rejection of them. Among the many artists who worked in the Indies during the late-colonial period, particularly those who went to Bali, it was commonly held that the tropics represented one of the last bastions of unspoiled nature and 'primitive' society in a modern world increasingly corrupted by urbanization and industrialization. Dutch artists like Jan Poortenaar (1886–1958), who travelled through the Indies in the 1920s, were convinced of the fiction presented in their own work that rural life in the archipelago was impervious to colonial intervention. 'The Oriental', claimed Poortenaar (1990:26), 'knows how to live in harmony with his universe.' Comparing the average Javanese peasant to the ordinary westerner, Poortenaar (1990:41) opined that the former 'lives in much closer contact with nature, and his emotions vibrate in subtle harmony with it'. As we shall see in the next two chapters, Poortenaar's views were generally representative of a broad consensus shared by colonial scholars and officials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that rural life in the tropics constituted a throwback to pre-modern, pre-industrial times, and that it continued so unaltered by Dutch colonial rule (Gouda 1995:119–50; Vickers 1996:89–91, 94).

Quite apart from creating a false impression of an Indies completely untouched by modernizing colonial influences, the painterly focus on subsistence agriculture also excised the role of Indonesian 'peasants' in generating Dutch colonial capital as wage labourers. As discussed in the previous section, the expansion of colonial plantation agriculture in the late nineteenth century competed directly with the land resources available to smallholders. Peasants of the kind idyllically depicted by *mooi Indië* painters were increasingly alienated from independent agricultural production and forced into wage labour as a result of mounting colonial demands for arable land, among other factors (Breman 1990a:6, 11, 39; Stoler 1995:5, 38; Northrup 1995:64–8). Tens of thousands of the Javanese indentured labourers who were imported to work on the factory-like plantations of East Sumatra in the late-colonial period were responding to this very process.

The expansion of rubber plantations in Dutch Sumatra and British Malaya provides a case study of how Southeast Asian peasants were systematically excluded from taking a larger share of colonial profits. While commercial plantations were expanding in Dutch Sumatra and British Malaya during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rubber was still widely grown by local smallholders on mixed farms combining food and trade cultivars.[41] However, the consolidation of large-scale commercial plantations in the region progressively marginalized local smallholders from export production. Economic factors partly account for this process. The capital-intensive nature of rubber cultivation tended to foster the development of monopolies. Rubber required considerable financial investment before it became a lucrative venture: there was a delay of several years before a regular latex harvest was possible, since large swathes of forest had to be cleared before planting could commence in the first instance, and the species of rubber that was most successful in Southeast Asia (*hevea Brasiliensis*) was a slow-growing variety. The boom and bust cycles that characterized the rubber industry in the early decades of the twentieth century also tended to eliminate smallholders: sharp declines in the price of rubber occurred in 1912–1913, 1920–1922, and again in 1930–1932, forcing even large firms to make economies (Beinart and Hughes 2007:243). In addition to economic factors, the foreign monopoly on Southeast Asian rubber production was politically enforced by colonial regimes. Planters in Dutch Sumatra and British Malaya aggressively lobbied colonial governments to exclude local smallholders from the industry on the explicit grounds that they competed for arable land, among other reasons. Planters frequently gained the political support of local rulers, who provided the permits (in the form of long leases) for large landholdings. Sumatran and Malay elites preferred to keep their subjects in subsistence production because it slowed the pace of social change (Beinart and Hughes 2007:242).

In favouring images of Indonesian rice farming over other modes of agricultural activity, colonial painters thus confined to the canvas what planter-lobbyists and their

political allies sought to constrain in real life. The focus of colonial painters on an ostensibly independent Indonesian yeomanry, farming private or communally-held lands, conveniently shifted Eurpoean viewers' attentions away from the transformative impact of Dutch rule. Like *mooi Indië* paintings more generally, scenes of rice farming elided both the existence of coercive agricultural labour systems under colonial role and the substantial contribution of Asian labour to the plantation wealth that underpinned the entire colonial system. Acknowledging the dynamics of this scheme would have undermined the benevolent claims of the Dutch colonial state, particularly after 1900 when the Ethical Policy made naked exploitation an unacceptable basis for colonial rule. Thus cultural and aesthetic preferences converged in *mooi Indië* paintings with the political concerns of the late colonial state.

## Conclusions

Susan Sontag (1977), in her influential treatise *On photography*, observed that the medium developed in the twentieth century as 'an elegiac art' given to pathos.[42] In the late-colonial Indies, a reverse tendency was evident: it was painting that developed as an elegiac visual form. From their earliest manifestations in the nineteenth century until the final decades of Dutch rule of Indonesia in the mid-twentieth century, bucolic views of Indies landscapes naturalized colonial conquest. The impact of colonialism on the Indies was routinely portrayed as minimal and thus, by definition, disruption and resistance were absent from European painting. The professional and ideological interests of the painters who produced these images, the techniques colonial artists employed, and the cultural values of the society in which their work circulated explain both the consistent form and subject matter of Indies landscape paintings over a long period of time, as well as the ideological misgivings that their romanticized content has frequently elicited from critics. That demand for paintings of rural idylls flourished until the end of Dutch colonial rule alongside the proliferation of photographs that contradicted these images points to the curious development of a niche role for painting in the Netherlands Indies.

The narratives of colonial expansion that paintings of rural idylls supported suspended Indies landscapes in pre-colonial time and elevated an anomalously pastoral form of scenery over commercial agricultural landscapes. Such images promoted the bases of political stability (plenitude, tranquility and contented rural populations) while appearing to avoid the sources of colonial wealth (plantations and export cultivation). In previous centuries, this had not been the case. VOC artists readily portrayed the coastal settlements and spice plantations from which early modern Dutch colonial profits were derived. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, accelerated colonial expansion fostered the deeper penetration of colonial

**41** In 1922, smallholder rubber planters in British Malaya were responsible for 40% of total rubber exports (Beinart and Hughes 2007:239). In Dutch Sumatra in 1927, indigenous smallholders produced 49% of rubber by value of exports and 65% by volume (Touwen 2001:371).

**42** 'Photography is an elegiac art, a twilight art. Most subjects photographed are, just by virtue of being photographed, touched with pathos [...]. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt.' (Sontag 1977:15.)

bureaucracies and economic systems into ordinary Indonesian lives. At the same time, the Dutch colonial state increasingly sought to distance itself, morally and politically, from the controversies surrounding exploitation, discontent and rebellion at the frontiers of expansion. These had no place in colonial notions of a well-governed landscape, especially when such aberrations were caused by Dutch rule itself.

Colonial painters as a group sought to distance themselves from their role in perpetrating instability in Indies landscapes. The professional investment of nineteenth-century painters in fertile, tranquil landscapes informed their reluctance to depict disruptions – violence, coercion, or resistance – that undermined the moral authority of colonial expansion. For much of the nineteenth century, most painters in the Indies were employed full-time in colonial sectors that directly or indirectly relied upon making the Indies profitable. The techniques these amateur artists utilized frequently betrayed their professional interests. Planters accustomed to visually (and perhaps cartographically) surveying their lands were well positioned to provide a sweeping overview of its topography. Panoramic painting and drawing also involved skills that were perfected by military training, and that often revealed a strategic interest in Indies landscapes.

The continuing idealization of rural landscapes in the late-colonial period is accounted for by other factors. The artists who worked in the Indies during the early twentieth century in particular constitute a qualitatively different cohort from their predecessors. These were typically painters with cosmopolitan origins and interests who were in an historically novel position to make a living from their art. The mobility of this cohort, and the transnational nature of artistic and cultural movements in the late-colonial period, were largely thanks to technological developments in global transport and communications. Interestingly, Dutch painting from the Indies provides an example of a colonial visual culture that was resistant to the social and political tensions of the pre-war era. The small art establishment in the Indies was hostile to modernist innovations from abroad. Dutch painters were often unfamiliar with these trends, as their advent in the Netherlands was delayed relative to other parts of Europe. Most importantly, perhaps, for painters seeking inspiration from exotic locales, geographically deterministic discourses regarding the essential differences between Europeans and Southeast Asians informed a growing nostalgia for 'traditional' ways of life that seemed to be receding in Europe.

CHAPTER FOUR

# Articles of faith

## Religion, fear and fantasy in Indies landscapes

In recent years, much has been written on Dutch representations of the Aceh War in a wide range of textual media, from journalism to fiction, and on the portrayal of the war by colonial photographers.[1] Such studies demonstrate the resounding controversy sparked by the Dutch conquest of Aceh in the early twentieth century, as revealed in various genres of reportage and literature. By contrast, other scenes of late-colonial violence such as South Bali, which was brought under Dutch administration between 1906 and 1908, were very quickly erased from the public record. Indeed, apart from a few administrative reports and photographs, the brutal destruction of several ruling Balinese houses at the hands of KNIL troops was rarely mentioned for the remainder of the colonial period. This chapter examines the conquest of Bali and Aceh from a fresh perspective, focusing specifically on how fundamentally divergent colonial attitudes toward Indies religions shaped the way in which landscape figured in European painting during the early twentieth century.

Europeans arriving in the Netherlands Indies in the late-colonial period would have noted a diversity of religious practices that they were largely unfamiliar with at home. Landscapes marked by Christian places of worship were relatively few, as Christianity commanded only a small following throughout the archipelago. This remains the case in Indonesia today,[2] with the exception of Maluku, which had been subject to sustained contact with Europeans since the sixteenth century. Elsewhere, evidence of Christianity during the colonial period was mainly confined to large cities with significant European populations. The church spires that punctuated the skylines of Batavia and other Company settlements from the seventeenth century onward serve to illustrate. The further spread of Christianity in parts of the Indies from the mid-nineteenth century onward remained relatively limited, largely due to the colonial state's reluctance to press Christian missions upon populations hostile to conversion.[3] Most Indies landscapes therefore bore the imprint of religions other than Christianity. It is the representation of environments shaped by faiths rarely held by European observers themselves that is examined here.

Europeans in the Indies were most likely to pass through landscapes marked by Islamic or Hindu and Buddhist places of worship and, in many instances, to meet Muslims, who comprised by far the largest proportion of the population.[4] This chapter examines how growing political challenges to Dutch rule in the late-colonial Indies provided the context for differentiation between Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic landscapes in Dutch colonial visual culture. In particular, colonial artists routinely distinguished between the historicity and serenity of Hinduism, on the one hand, and the difference and belligerence of Islam on the other. As is well established in the historical literature, Bali's Hindu heritage inspired an unprecedented outpouring of western art, literature and scholarship, and the island came to occupy a unique imaginative position in late-colonial views of the Indies. By striking contrast, European depictions of

landscapes from Islamic regions of the Indies are notable for the *absence* of imaginative intervention that informs their composition. Despite the external origins of both religions, in India and Arabia respectively, only Islam was portrayed by the Dutch as a 'foreign' imposition upon Indies landscapes with no 'natural' resonance in the tropics. Certainly, the landscapes that enfolded Islamic communities were often noted with curiosity by European observers, who recorded their topographic features and showed particular interest in built landmarks like mosques and Muslim graves. However, following the advent of the Aceh War in the 1870s – during which local resistance to Dutch expansion was framed in terms of jihad (holy war) – Islam was portrayed by colonists as a lurking, militant imposter in the Indies. The protracted conflict in Aceh evoked a rising pan-Islamic tide of anti-colonial nationalism that was perceived by the Dutch as dangerous not only to the stability of the colonial state, but also to other European colonial regimes in the region.

The first two sections of this chapter, which focus on European images of Hindu and Buddhist antiquities on Java and Bali, are intended to set the context for a subsequent examination of the impact of the Aceh War on late-colonial representations of Indies landscapes. I argue that images of pre-Islamic Javanese antiquities, contemporary Buddhist temples in urban Chinese quarters, and Hindu sites of worship on Bali resonated with European notions of tropicality, and thus provided a backdrop upon which colonial fantasies concerning 'eastern' religions could be projected. To European observers, these religions left an indelible mark on Indies landscapes, which were represented as charming, peaceful and eternal, despite frequent evidence to the contrary. The timelessness and purity of environments touched by Hinduism and Buddhism, their ostensible imperviousness to historical change and their fragility in the wake of 'foreign' (primarily Islamic) influence, became an article of faith for colonial artists. Fear and fantasy thus informed differentiated representations of Islamic and Hindu landscapes. As an antidote to colonial anxieties about Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were portrayed in European landscape art as organic to the Indies, a 'natural', historic outgrowth of Asian religious sentiment.

## Commanding past and future: Javanese antiquities and colonial agency

It was at the end of the Company period and the dawn of the Dutch colonial era that European explorers on Java encountered the remains of some of the most significant Hindu and Buddhist monuments in Southeast Asia. Europeans first laid eyes upon the temple ruins of what is now known as the Loro Jonggrang complex, at Prambanan near Yogyakarta, during the late eighteenth century.[5] Construction of the complex had probably commenced some time in the eighth

**1** See, for example, the recent essays in Dolk 2001, cited throughout this chapter. On photographic accounts of the Aceh War, see Nieuwenhuys 1988:149–63; Zweers 1989:110–9; Groeneveld 1991a, 1991b; Ouwehand 2009.

**2** In the early 1930s, the 1.7 million Christians in the Indies comprised around 3% of the total population (Van Klinken 2003:7, 10). In 2000, around 9% of the Indonesian population considered themselves Christians (Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta 2003:104).

**3** The Batak highlands of Sumatra, as well as Manado, the Toraja highlands of Sulawesi, Flores, and West New Guinea were the major sites of Christian mission influence in colonial Indonesia (Cribb 2000:48; Reid 2005:15; Vickers 2005:22).

**4** Today around 88% of the population of Indonesia is Islamic, although the distribution of Muslims varies according to province, with the highest number of Muslims concentrated in Java and Sumatra (Cribb 2000:44).

**5** Jordaan 1996:13. Loro Jonggrang, or 'Slender Maiden', is the local Javanese name for Durga, one of the gods represented in statue form within the Shiva temple (Jordaan 1996:5).

century and ceased in the mid-ninth century CE (although building was never complete), during the reign of the Shailendra dynasty (Jordaan 1996:24, 113). Roy Jordaan has suggested that the practice of both Mahayana Buddhism and Shaivism was tolerated within this Central Javanese kingdom. The two religions may even have fused to some extent under the Shailendras' reign (Jordaan 1996:23, 43–4, 113). Indeed, it was not clear to Dutch archeaologists whether Loro Jonggrang was in fact a Buddhist or Hindu temple complex until the late nineteenth century, when the Shiva shrine was reconstructed (Jordaan 1996:14, 26, 80).

In 1814, during the British interregnum in Dutch rule of the Indies, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles became the first colonial administrator to order an inspection of a large antiquity near Malang. This was Borobudur, a temple now known to be the largest extant Buddhist monument in Indonesia (Taylor 2003:51). Like the shrines at Prambanan, Borobudur was built during the reign of the Shailendra dynasty.[6] Scholars have noted that to ascend Borobudur is to follow a lesson in the soul's journey to enlightenment (Holt 1967:42–6; Wright 1994:38, 44). The bas reliefs along the walls of Borobudur's lowest tiers show scenes from daily life and Indonesian landscapes that represent earthly existence. The higher tiers proffer more exalted themes, such as the lives of bodhisattvas and of the Buddha himself. At the topmost level, walls are abandoned, as are illustrative carvings. The view over the surrounding valley is punctuated only by bell-shaped sculptures (dagobas*)* containing Buddha statues. The achievement of formlessness through enlightenment is thus the allegory contained within the structure of the temple (Holt 1967:45–7; Adams 1990:20–4, 32; Voûte and Long 2008:271–84).

The fact that Borobudur was built in the shape of a mountain, in a valley surrounded by sacred mountains, has convinced cartography specialist Thomas Súarez (1999:34) that the temple represents one of the earliest cosmological maps in Southeast Asia. Similarly, while many scholars have assumed that Loro Jonggrang functioned as a royal mausoleum, Roy Jordaan has suggested that the central plain once contained water, and that the Shiva temple perhaps symbolized the cosmic mountain churning the mythical ocean of milk.[7] The structure and location of both temples is therefore crucial to understanding Javanese notions of sacred space in the classical period (circa 730–900 CE). In Indonesia, mountains have an ancient iconic currency, appearing as stylized decorations on some of the oldest artefacts discovered in the archipelago, including kettle drums that were imported from Vietnam during the Dong Son era (eighth to second centuries BCE) (Wright 1994:36). Mountains were also revered throughout South and Southeast Asia during later periods for their evocation of Mount Meru (or Semeru), the axis of the universe, home of the Hindu gods on earth and the spiritual epicentre of Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms. As discussed

**6** The foundations of the temple were actually laid by the Shaivite Sanjayas, that the main part of the building was constructed by the Buddhist Shailendras, and that further embellishments were later made by the Sanjayas (Dumarçay 1991:4–5).

**7** Jordaan 1996:45–6, 54–5, 61. The evidence for Jordaan's holy reservoir theory is not yet conclusive. His introductory essay to *In praise of Prambanan* offers an overview of funerary interpretations of the complex, while extracts by earlier Dutch archeaologists provide further detail.

in Chapter 1, royal power in these polities was geographically and symbolically linked to sacred mountains, with divine authority legitimizing the political control that radiated outward from the centre of the kingdom in a mandala pattern. The *taman arum* (scented garden) motif that often decorates Cirebon batik is a stylization of Mount Meru (Maxwell 1990:199). In wayang imagery from Java and Bali, the cosmic mountain features in the form of the *gunungan* ('like a mountain') puppet, which plays an important role in signalling momentous change or the presence of gods.[8] Even after the arrival of Islam and the decline of Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in Indonesia between the late thirteenth and early seventeenth centuries, mountains continued to inform notions of sacred space. Thus, peaked rooves suggesting the apex of a mountain occur frequently in both secular and religious Indonesian architecture, including Islamic mosques (Wright 1994:38; O'Neill 2002:228).

The geographic location of the Shailendra- and Sanjaya-era temples speaks to a more specific notion of sacred space that pertains to southern Central Java. The region's fertile plains and valleys between the hinterland and the Indian Ocean were believed to be under the influence of Ratu Kidul, characterized by John Pemberton (1994:370) as 'spiritual consort and protrectress' of Central Java's kings. These rulers traditionally made annual offerings to the mountains and the sea in order to maintain the 'cosmological circuitry' of the region (Pemberton 1994:371). Today, the lands lying between Mount Lawu and the mythic forest of Krendhawana near Surakarta, Mount Merapi near Yogyakarta, and Parangtritis (the south coast) are 'crisscrossed with spiritual traces of political exiles, legendary ascetics, aspiring kings, and revolutionaries' (Pemberton 1994:370). Islamic monuments built in landscapes once holy to Hindus and Buddhists signify, according to Pemberton, new kinds of '*kramat* [sacred] topography' overlaying older ones.[9]

It was not until the late nineteenth century that Java's pre-Islamic antiquities became widely known and appreciated among the Dutch (Dumarçay 1991:59; Bloembergen 2006:197). Though draftspeople and photographers were employed to record images of Hindu and Buddhist temples during early colonial expeditions, few Europeans outside the Indies initially saw these images. The expense of illustrated publications, and the specialized nature of the findings presented, contributed to a limited circulation of knowledge about Java's antiquities in the first half of the nineteenth century (Bastin and Brommer 1979:26–7). By the late nineteenth century, however, European (and Javanese) interest in the temples began to increase. The photographic series published by the archaeological photographer Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821–1905) – first *Oudheden van Java* (1872) and later *Boro-Boedoer* (1874) – became widely known in Europe, both in album form and at international colonial exhibitions (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1991:37–8; Theuns-de Boer and

**8** The *gunungan* opens and closes a wayang performance, represents a change of scene, can symbolize fate or a disturbance of nature when it is fluttered, signifies the home of the gods, represents fire (when reversed), a single tree or an entire forest, and, of course, symbolizes Mount Meru (Holt 1967:134–5; McGlynn 1999:52).

**9** Pemberton (1994:276) points to contemporary Indonesian interest in the tomb complex at Imogiri as an example.

**10** For examples of postcards featuring Indonesian antiquities, see Haks and Wachlin 2004:164–5. On the popularity of Woodbury & Page images, see Groeneveld 1989:20. For Woodbury & Page photographs of Borobudur, see Wachlin 1994:116–7. For an overview of photos of Borobudur in Dutch archives, including the earliest images taken by A. Schaefer in 1845, see Adams 1990.

**11** Bloembergen 2006:192. A preoccupation with accuracy in architectural replication in Dutch visual culture can be traced to the seventeenth century, when exquisitely detailed miniature dollhouses became precious collectables among a number of elite Dutch women (Broomhall 2007).

Asser 2005:276–9). Individual postcards and souvenir photograph collections, particularly those by the well-known studio Woodbury & Page, which produced such images in the hundreds, appealed to a broad audience.[10] The Javanese specialist Kassian Cephas, official photographer to the Sultan's court at Yogyakarta, also produced famous images of Javanese antiquities (Fontein 1991; Knaap 1999:10310, 112–6). By the late-colonial period, views of pre-Islamic antiquities from the Indies had become one of the most potent international visual symbols of the Dutch overseas empire. The display of Hindu and Buddhist artefacts at world fairs and colonial exhibitions contributed significantly to this reputation. The Dutch section at the 1900 Paris exhibition featured a reconstruction of Candi Sari, a ninth-century Buddhist temple near Prambanan. Although the Dutch had participated in previous world expositions, and even staged their own at Amsterdam in 1883, the Paris exhibition was the first foreign trade fair to attract the official support of the Dutch state, and the first to depart significantly from the anthropological and ethnographic emphasis of earlier Dutch displays (Bloembergen 2006:190, 192). The Candi Sari pavilion in Paris contained artefacts from Borobudur, Candi Sewu and other Central Javanese temples, all of which were displayed to the European public for the first time (Bloembergen 1996:164). Candi Sari had been chosen as the model for the pavilion because it was the only temple of its kind that was small enough to build to scale.[11] Pre-Islamic antiquities were again featured in the Netherlands' section of the 1931 Paris exhibition (Bloembergen 2006:269–300). The Dutch entry for that year was famously ill-fated, burning down completely before the exhibition even began. The design of the 1931 pavilion, which was based on Balinese Hindu temples did, however, demonstrate the continuing resonance of pre-Islamic antiquities in late-colonial representations of the Indies.

The late-colonial era differed qualitatively from the ventures of the recent past, due to the acceleration of imperial expansion and international colonial competition between European powers during this period. The Netherlands was in step with its European neighbours in this regard. Between 1870 and 1910 the Dutch launched some 30 subjugation campaigns in the Indies (Schulte Nordholt 2002:36), the most protracted and difficult of which was undoubtedly the Aceh War, a conflict that will be returned to presently in detail. Nationalistic fervour at home was essential to arousing popular and political support for violent (and sometimes unsuccessful) Dutch expansionary projects in the Indies. Competition with other imperial powers also stimulated Dutch colonial nationalism. The Second Boer War in South Africa (1899–1902), for instance, excited patriotic sentiment in the Netherlands, where large sections of the population expressed their solidarity with the mainly Dutch-descended Boers (Bloembergen 2006:167–8).

For the Netherlands, colonial glory abroad was especially significant for fostering a sense of national pride and international agency at home, since the country had been rendered virtually powerless in Europe by the nineteenth century. Following Benedict Anderson and others, Marieke Bloembergen (2006:166) has therefore linked archaeological interest in pre-Islamic antiquities with late-colonial state formation. Her study of Dutch participation in world and colonial exhibitions reveals how Javanese and Balinese Hindu-Buddhist architecture became the leading symbol of 'The Indies' on the European stage, and thus a talisman of Dutch imperial power. With the restoration of Java's antiquities in the late nineteenth century, the Dutch were able to join the prestigious ranks of imperial nations – among them the French in Indochina and the British in India – who could claim stewardship over colonies with venerable ancient civilizations (Bloembergen 2006:195–6). India in particular was the envy of many colonial powers, many of whom (including the Dutch) had once enjoyed a foothold there before being gradually displaced by the British throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the Dutch to be in a position to offer their 'own' ancient relics up for international scrutiny alongside those of great powers like Britain, and to engage in the production of knowledge on Hindusim, was politically significant. In prominently featuring Javanese antiquities in the Dutch section of the 1900 Paris exhibition, the Netherlands sought to claim a larger role for itself on the European

imperial stage (Bloembergen 2006:190, 192).

The construction of Taman Mini Indonesia in the 1970s under the administration of President Soeharto suggests that, like their colonial forebears, Indonesian governments have also appreciated the didactic value of presenting national space in miniature.[12] Where Dutch displays of Javanese antiquities differed from their successors was in the message of European agency that they conveyed. In colonial narratives of discovery in Indonesia, as Benedict Anderson (1993:179) has noted, 'the grandeurs of ancient sites were successively disinterred, unjungled, measured, photographed, reconstructed, fenced off, analysed, and displayed'. To unearth the secrets that might be embedded in antique temple structures was not only to reconstruct Java's past but also to command its future, through knowledge, oversight and organizational vigour. An image of the restoration of the Buddhist temple Candi Sewu, in the vicinity of Loro Jonggrang, serves to illustrate (Figure 4.1). The watercolour was made in 1807 by the director of the project, a Dutch engineer named H.C. Cornelius, shown seated in the right foreground poring over plans with a retainer on standby behind him. (Among the other European figures present – one of those in top hat and coat tails – is J.W.B. Wardenaar, whom we encountered in Chapter 1 on another surveying project.) It is precisely Cornelius' abstinence from the manual work of restoration – left here for Javanese labourers – that signals his intellectual and managerial authority. The image thus effectively demonstrates how a hierarchy of labour, differentiated along racial lines, privileged the agency of Europeans in exhuming the Javanese past.

Two fallacies are buried in such visual narratives of historical excavation. Firstly, Cornelius' popularity was deliberately revived in the Netherlands during the late nineteenth century to obscure the fact that it had been the British, under Raffles, who instigated the investigation of Javanese antiquities. Dutch scholars in the nineteenth century were quick to point out that while Cornelius failed to distinguish between the temples at Loro Jonggrang and other shrines in the Prambanan region, his work on Candi Sewu predated Raffles' expedition by several years. This became evidence for Dutch nationalists to deny that the British had pioneered archaeology in the Indies (Jordaan 1996:13; Bloembergen 2006:196). Secondly, while both the British and the Dutch jostled for the accolade of having 'discovered' the temples at Prambanan and Magelang, local Javanese were perfectly aware of and, indeed, continued to worship at the shrines long before the arrival of colonial explorers.[13] Pemberton's analysis of sacred sites in Java, referred to earlier, suggests that a local awareness of and respect for Hindu and Buddhist holy places was maintained by Indonesian Muslims in southern Java throughout the colonial period and, indeed, up to the present day.

Peter Boomgaard's work (1999:263) on

**12** Pemberton 1994:152–61; Errington 1997; Bruner 2005:218–30. The construction of Tama Mini was at the initiative of Soeharto's wife.

**13** Gallop 1995:19. The statue of Durga in the Shiva temple at Loro Jonggrang was reported to have a shiny patina from the touch of countless worshippers (Jordaan 1996:12; Voûte and Long 2008:83).

**14** '*The large temple at Brambanan*' in Raffles 1965:18 (second plate after page).

Javanese notions of *angker* (sacred or haunted) sites suggests that what Europeans frequently considered 'restoration' was in fact inimical to local notions of holiness, where the sacred properties of places and monuments derived from their undisturbed condition. Some colonial observers may have been more sensitive to this than engineers like Cornelius. A decade after the latter's watercolour of the cleaning of Candi Sewu was made a very similar image of the temple reached a broader, English-speaking audience in Thomas Stamford Raffles' influential *History of Java* (1817) (without attribution to Cornelius, as was Raffles' wont with respect to using the work of other artists throughout the book).[14] In Raffle's reproduction no evidence of restoration work remained. The overgrown temple itself appeared exactly the same way as it had in Cornelius' drawing, but the scaffolding, surveyors and labourers were replaced by a smattering of Javanese figures positioned at a respectful distance from the structure. The mood of bustling European intervention around a significant antiquity was thus exchanged for an impression of quiet Javanese reverence for a sacred shrine. Perhaps Raffles' decision to use this particular variant of Cornelius' original watercolour represented a British bid to erase the role of Dutch engineers in the project. However, elsewhere in his *History* Raffles (1965:14) noted that '[t]he Javans to this day continue to pay their devoirs to… *Lóro Jóngrang*, as they are constantly covered with turmerick, flowers, ochre &c'. His choice of image might therefore in fact represent a more nuanced interpretation of the local significance of the temple than Cornelius' original picture had allowed for. Later images that circulated widely in Europe during the mid-nineteenth century,

**4.1** H.C. Cornelius, *The cleaning of Candi Sewu* (1807)

through their reproduction in printed folios, took a similar approach to Raffles. *Javasche oudheden* (Javanese antiquities), published in installments in The Hague between 1852 and 1856, featured the work of several well-known artists including Antoine Payen and A.J. Bik, and showed Javanese figures in apparent deference before Hindu and Buddhist temples. Among these illustrations was a view of Borobudur by Payen (Figure 4.2), who produced a number of drawings of Javanese temples between 1823 and 1825 while accompanying the Reinwardt expeditions. His 1835 painting shows a small group of Javanese reverently surrounding a Buddha statue.[15] The prominent mountain backdrop in Payen's image of Candi Sewu even seems to acknowledge the cosmic Mount Meru.

Perhaps colonial artists were more inclined to reflect on the sacred properties of antique holy sites than archaeologists and engineers because of the legacy of Romanticism, with its fascination for ruins, in European visual culture (Rosen and Zerner 1984:37, 60–1; Cronan 1995; Bloembergen 2006:209). In this regard, colonial artists drew upon a broad Romantic tradition in ways that had been all but neglected by Dutch artists in the Netherlands. There are relatively few examples of ruins in Dutch landscape painting.[16] In the Indies, by contrast, an artistic interest in antiquities flourished well into the twentieth century. Hubertus Nicolaas Sieburgh (1799–1842), a painter who was first encountered in the previous chapter, was inspired to journey from Holland to the Indies not because of administrative ambitions but from his desire to paint Java's ruins and relics.[17] Indeed, Sieburgh was perhaps the first Dutch painter in the Indies to gain his chief inspiration from Hindu and Buddhist temples. In this respect, he preceded the better-known Bali artists by almost a

**4.2** Antoine Payen, *Borobudur* (1835)

century. The following section demonstrates how the imaginative attraction of Hindu and Buddhist temples and their ostensibly organic connection to tropical landscapes were more highly developed among the twentieth century Bali artists. Sieburgh's paintings from Java, however, and the evocation of Javanese antiquities in colonial albums and exhibitions, are a reminder of a longer history of colonial artists imbuing Hindu and Buddhist landscapes with imaginative fantasy.

## The past in the present: Religion and landscape painting on Bali

Though Islam had largely supplanted other religions on Java by the seventeenth century, Hinduism and Buddhism continued to be practiced by small sections of the population until the end of the colonial period (and beyond). Hinduism was the declared religion of the Tengger highlanders of East Java, for example, and Buddhism was widely practiced among the Chinese population of the Netherlands Indies, a minority with a particularly strong presence in urban settlements.[18] The Dutch were frequently fascinated by the Chinese quarters of cities like Batavia, which were first recorded by draftspeople in the seventeenth century and remained the subject of countless photographs in the twentieth. The distinctive architecture of these settlements, and the different sights, smells and sounds to be encountered within them, drew much attention from colonial travellers and residents, who were often thrilled at the presence of a genuinely 'oriental' element in the Indies.[19]

Even more intriguing to Europeans was Bali, the island off the east coast of Java where a variant of Hinduism was (and is) still practiced by the majority of the population. The island had been known to the Dutch since 1597, when the first commercial expedition to the Indies was launched. Bali thereafter became a significant source of slaves in the archipelago during the Company period (Pringle 2004:82, 86). It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, however, that the island was drawn into the ambit of the colonial state, beginning with the northern kingdoms, which initially resisted treating with the Dutch and were forcibly subdued in a series of military campaigns. In 1894 the neighbouring island of Lombok was formally annexed.[20] Growing Dutch fears about British competition in the region provides the context for the decision to subjugate South Bali in 1906 (Ricklefs 2001:174). The pretext given, however, was Balinese violation of 'international' law in an incident involving the local plunder of a ship wrecked on the island. In keeping with Balinese tradition, the cargoes of foreign ships run aground on the island's shores were fair game for locals to pillage. Though the Dutch had been zealous plunderers themselves during the Company period, when Portuguese and Spanish ships were often attacked for their valuable spice and porcelain cargoes, during the nineteenth century the Dutch attempted to outlaw such

**15** See also the similar image of Modjo-Païd by J. Weissenbruch after Auguste van Pers, which shows a lone Indonesian in apparent reverie seated before a ruin (Bastin and Brommer 1979:70).

**16** For a Romantic-era exception, see Gerard van Nijmegen, *Mountainous landscape with an ox-cart on a wooden bridge* (1790), in Loos, De Rijdt and Van Heteren 1997:150–1. Van Nijmegen's landscape, significantly, is a German one, not Netherlandish. In the seventeenth century, the Haarlem painter Jacob van Ruisdael (1628–1682) was also famous for his ruin pieces (Slive 2001).

**17** Marie-Odette Scalliet (1999:69, 70–1) has noted that he was the first European to depict Candi Mendut.

**18** Chinese in Indonesia adhere to a variety of religions not limited to Buddhism (Suryadinata 1997:9, 125–6). On religion in the Tengger ranges, see Hefner 1990:4.

**19** See, for example, the description of Batavia's Chinese quarter in De Wit 1989:48–56. See also Jan Poortenaar's description (1990:22–6) of the Chinese community he encountered in Penang on the way to Batavia. In the late nineteenth century the studio of Woodbury & Page produced numerous photographs of Glodok, the Chinese quarter of Batavia, as well as images of Chinese temples (*klenteng*) in Padang, Sumatra (Wachlin 1994:45–6, 168–9).

**20** Lombok had previously been ruled in a single administrative unit with North Bali.

activities in the Indies through laws and agreements with local rulers.[21] The Dutch invasion of South Bali, however, proved to be more controversial than expected. The Balinese tradition of *puputan* ('ending') to signal the downfall of a kingdom entailed the mass ritual suicide of rajas, their families, and the royal household. In the kingdoms of Badung, Tabanan and Klungkung, Dutch military campaigns descended into massacres of royal families and their retinues. In the case of Badung, rather than surrender to foreign rule more than a thousand people died after advancing into Dutch gunfire (Robinson 1995:24; Vickers 1996:25, 43).

As Adrian Vickers and Geoffrey Robinson have shown, the violence that characterized the Dutch conquest of Bali was quickly supressed in western official, journalistic, scholarly and popular accounts. Most Dutch observers were not inclined to view the massacres that followed colonial expansion in South Bali as evidence of the brutality of Dutch imperial ambition. The *puputan* were viewed by the Dutch as evidence of the selfishness and barbarity of despotic rulers who would rather sacrifice their own people than submit to 'rational' colonial rule (Robinson 1995:25–6). The eradication of colonial violence from the historical record meant that, by the 1920s, Bali had assumed an almost mythological status as an antiquated, exotic paradise in European (and American) minds. Droves of artists and scholars from around the world flocked to Bali in the wake of Dutch government officials, a mobility enabled by advancements in technology and changes in late-colonial policy. As discussed in previous chapters, a relaxation of immigration guidelines accompanied the liberalization of the Netherlands Indies economy in the 1870s, allowing non-official travellers entry to the colonies in larger numbers. International travel by steam-powered ocean liners such as those of the Nederlandsch-Indische Stoomvaart Maatschappij (NISM) and the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) fleets also enabled faster and cheaper voyages around the Indies, as well as connections to Europe on other steamship lines.[22]

These developments were the context for the motley array of Europeans and Americans who landed in Bali during the 1920s and 1930s. Some settled there more or less permanently, like the Belgian painter Adrien Jean Le Mayeur de Merprès, whose work is examined in the next chapter, and the German artist Walter Spies, on whom more shortly. More frequently, visitors spent lengthy periods, often years, living and working on Bali as part of an international career. Among such sojourners were the linguist Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824–1894) and the dance specialist Beryl de Zoete (1879–1962).[23] The anthropologists Margaret Mead (1901–1978) and Gregory Bateson (1904–1980) were among the better known Americans who worked in Bali (Vickers 1996:118–24). The Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–1957) and his wife Rose, a dancer and photographer, also spent long

**21** An important collection of Chinese porcelain now held in the Rijksmuseum has its origins in just such an incident. The collection, derived from the wreck of the *Witte Leeuw*, hails from a cargo retrieved off the coast of Saint Helena, after the ship sank following the Dutch interception and raid of a Portuguese carrack on its way back to Europe in 1613 (Brook 2008:56–60). On the vexed issue of shipwrecks leading up to the annexation of South Bali, see Vickers 1996:26, 31.

**22** À Campo 1992:642. NISM operated between 1866 and 1890, and the KPM operated between 1891 and 1957.

**23** Van der Tuuk was born in Malacca. Though he was trained in the Netherlands and spent part of his career there, his ground-breaking linguistic fieldwork was conducted first in the Batak lands of Sumatra (1849–1857). After a period in Europe (1857–1868), Van der Tuuk returned to the Indies and began work on Bali, where he stayed from 1870 until his death (Groeneboer 2000). On Beryl de Zoete, see Hitchcock and Norris 1995:3–4.

**24** On Miguel and Rose Covarrubias, see Covarrubias 1972; Williams and Chong 2005. On Colin McPhee, see Vickers 1996:120–5; McPhee 2002.

**25** While countless scholars of imperialism have made this observation in their work, the best-known example in this genre is probably Said 1993.

**26** Bali was a lucrative source of tax revenue, particularly from land taxes and, after 1910, opium (Robinson 1995:14, 54–9).

periods on the island, and Colin McPhee (1900–1964), a Canadian musicologist, made his reputation researching gamelan music in Bali.[24] Joining this bohemian medley was the occasional celebrity, such as Charlie Chaplin, Barbara Hutton and Noël Coward (Vickers 1996:109). Dutch painters were also drawn to Bali, among them Isaac Israëls (possibly the Netherlands' most prominent Impressionist), and a number of lesser-known artists including W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, Hendrik Paulides, Rudolf Bonnet and Willem Hofker (Spruit 1997; Ten Kate 1999). Though living a century after the advent of Romanticism in Europe, many of these painters, as we shall see, were guided by an aesthetic that would have been familiar to their nineteenth-century predecessors. Further, while dance and music were perhaps the most important art forms on Bali, the relatively high status of painting on the island resonated with Europeans who had dedicated their lives to art and felt they had found a painter's paradise in the tropics. The cultural value attributed to painting on Bali (particularly its important role in religion and ceremony), together with the antiquity of the painting tradition on the island, distinguished Bali from other parts of the Netherlands Indies, particularly those places where the Islamic prohibition against figural representation prevailed.

It has often been noted that the invigoration of European art and scholarship through encounters with the colonies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries amounted to cultural imperialism; that, while colonialism provided opportunities for artists to travel and seek new material for their work, the terms of their engagement with the host culture remained unequal, even exploitative, and resulted in distorted representations of the non-European world.[25] The influence of 'primitivism' on European painters during the early twentieth century represents a well documented example of how the work of western artists was inspired by encounters with the visual and material cultures of Africa and the Pacific (Torgovnick 1990; Flam and Deutch 2003). The works of Paul Gauguin in French Polynesia, and of the nineteenth-century Orientalist painters before him such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) and Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), demonstrate how colonized landscapes and peoples provided a significant font of inspiration for European artists who were keen to explore exotic themes and settings (Cosgrove 2005:211–2). In the 1920s and 1930s, Bali became another outpost of European cultural imperialism. Though many of the Bali artists kept apart from the Dutch civil servants on the island, prefering the company and culture of their Balinese friends, they too were participants in the colonization of the island. Indeed, it can be argued that the Dutch subjugation of Bali created a new kind of colonial frontier, one that expanded on the basis of scholarship, artistic production, and cultural engagement. Certainly, the Dutch colonial state attempted to make Bali a profitable venture as it did with all provinces in the Indies.[26] In contrast to these other provinces, however, from the outset of the Dutch conquest of Bali the colonial state strongly emphasized the protection of the island's cultural heritage by actively maintaining its 'traditional' social structures and customs. These conservationist measures constituted interventions in themselves, and thus precipitated rather than prevented Bali's 'entry' into colonial modernity (Schulte Nordholt 1986:28, 32–3, 49; Vickers 1996:94). The colonial state seemed as blind to its influence in this regard as the artists and scholars who were also aligned with the project of preserving Bali's exceptionalism. The Bali artists were therefore not so different from their nineteenth-century predecessors. Though independent of the state or traditional colonial sources of wealth (such as planting or commerce) for their livelihoods, the Bali artists were cultural adjuncts to the Dutch conquest that had brought the island into the colonial order. These artists actively participated in the production of colonial knowledge about Bali, in imaginative as well as empirical forms, and were often quite forceful in their portrayal and defence of what were regarded as aspects of Bali's essential difference, both from the West and from other parts of the Indies.

Certainly, the mutual dislike and distrust between Dutch civil servants and some of the less conventional European residents on Bali, such as Walter Spies and Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, demonstrates that the white population of the Indies was

divided over a range of issues that scholars like Ann Laura Stoler (1995, 2002), Elsbeth Locher-Scholten (2000c) and Frances Gouda (1993, 1995) have shown to be central to colonial rule, such as what determined the nature of differences between Asian and European culture, how colonial respectability was constituted in the Indies, and how class, race and gender transgressions should be measured and policed. In living among their Balinese friends and avoiding official company, Europeans like Spies and Van der Tuuk were not only thumbing their noses at the colonial establishment but also signalling a gendered independence that was rarely available to their female counterparts. (Official toleration of Spies' lifestyle, it should be noted, was limited. He was ultimately imprisoned by the Dutch on charges of paedophilia and, more generally, for his homosexual proclivities) (Rhodius and Darling 1980:45). The same level of independence was also unavailable to their Balinese friends. Even in the most intimate friendships there were inequalities between most Europeans and Balinese based on wealth and status. Colin McPhee's memoir of his time in Bali draws frequent contrasts, often inadvertently, between the easy, international mobility enjoyed by westerners like himself and the more constrained circumstances of his Balinese pupils and servants. Expatriates like McPhee and many of the other westerners with whom he socialized on the island spent years travelling back and forth between Europe or America and Bali, disseminating their findings at home and revisiting the island to clarify their ideas or renew their inspiration before disappearing once and for all to the northern hemisphere, where the fruits of their study were shared with audiences in the form of books, paintings, or performances.[27]

In European painting, Balinese subjects – religious ceremonies, Hindu myths and legends, and, as we shall see, landscapes – appeared frequently. However (with the notable exception of Walter Spies, whose elongated figures and exquisitely detailed forest scenes were probably inspired by wood carvings typical to the village of Mas), Europeans essentially viewed Bali as a resource for novel settings and subjects. In form and use, European paintings from Bali generally retained a western integrity, and were usually painted and sold (to western buyers, by and large) as decorative pieces rather than for ceremonies and festivals, as Balinese traditional paintings were intended. Spies' friend and associate, Bonnet, who also settled in the mountain village of Ubud, became a keen collector of Balinese traditional paintings (Couteau 1999:7, 38). Bonnet, however, maintained that distinctions between western and Balinese styles ought to be preserved, and that Balinese art in particular ought not to be overtly influenced by western styles (Spruit 1992:21). A double standard therefore informed European attitudes toward cultural exchange on Bali, where chiefly westerners were entitled to decide (and regulate) the extent to which tradition and modernity, both in art and in life, should be permitted to combine.

Colonial painters thus broadly shared the opinion of scholars and officials that western intervention was required to protect Bali from foreign influences. Bali's distinctiveness as a Hindu island, afloat in what increasingly seemed to the Dutch in the late-colonial period as a militantly Islamic archipelago, heightened the notion of its antiquity. Bali gave a pulse to the dead relics of Hinduism on Java and enlivened European imaginings about the pre-Islamic history of the Indies. In the early twentieth century, Bali was thus configured as a 'living museum', to repeat a phrase often used by scholars; an historic anomaly, a fragile remnant of the distant past in the present.[28]

The apparent unity on Bali between art and life, nature and culture, drew frequent comment from Dutch painters travelling to the island in the early twentieth century. Hendrik Paulides (1940:176), creator of the iconic *Java* figure discussed in the previous chapter (Figure 3.11), wrote that '[t]hese handsomely built, artistically gifted people create through their art a visible world from everything that moves them inwardly and outwardly, which is perfectly in tune with the luxuriant tropical nature that they live amongst'.

Numerous paintings made by Europeans show aspects of Balinese Hindu ceremonies and worship, a theme which allowed artists to indulge in colourful processions, elaborate offerings, fantastic costumes, and

beautiful dancers (both male and female). Dance, music, theatre and painting were all part of the spectacle of Hindu practice to early European observers, but as colonial landscape art from the island reveals, the Balinese environment was also deemed crucial to colonial notions of sacred space. Perhaps it was the accessability of Balinese landscapes that encouraged some European artists to imbue them with sacred qualities. Balinese art, architecture, oral and written literature, theatre, dance and performance all demanded learning before their meaning and significance in daily life and ritual could be deciphered by foreigners. Landscape, on the other hand, had been invested by early nineteenth-century European Romantics with spiritual qualities, and thus had a quasi-sacred currency in European visual culture that seemed to resonate among the Bali artists a century later. An image of the temple at Besakih completed by Nieuwenkamp in 1937 provides a case in point (Figure 4.3). It shows a Balinese boy, seen from behind and seated on a wall in the foreground, who looks toward the sea over a terraced landscape punctuated by temples. In the middle distance a lone figure sweeps the grounds with a broom. From the right, a rainstorm descends upon the scene. The unity between nature – the sea, the approaching storm – and the ritual function of the temple is strongly implied. The resting boy in the centre of the picture seems to be experiencing a quiet, solitary moment of contemplation. His presence in the tranquil, meditative scene suggest a mystical connection between humans and nature on Bali.

Nieuwenkamp (1874–1950) was the son of a merchant trader who had dealt in Moluccan spices, and it was his family's wealth (together with his wife's fortune) that enabled his artistic career and frequent travel (Spruit 1997:18; Ten Kate 1999:131). He was one of the first Dutch artists to visit Bali, which he

**4.3** W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, *Besakih* (1937)

did in 1904, and one of the few to witness the *puputan* in 1906. He thus preceded most of the other European artists by around two decades, and through the numerous books on the art culture of Bali and Lombok that he produced throughout his lifetime, became an influential exponent of Bali's exceptionalism. His view that Bali was an endangered paradise was expressed in his opposition to changes to Bali's landscapes, such as sealed roads and modern buildings. (Ironically, it was Nieuwenkamp's own association with western technologies that settled the way he was to be remembered by Balinese. His tour of the north in 1906 and 1907 on a bicycle was memorialized on a stone relief in the Pura Maduwe temple at Kubutambahan) (Spruit 1992:16–7; Ten Kate 1999:131).

Similar assumptions about the fragile antiquity of Bali were expressed in the paintings of Walter Spies (1895–1942), whose Bali paintings might be considered examples of primitivist art from the Indies. Spies, the son of German parents, was educated in Dresden, where he studied art and music. His father was a prominent diplomat posted in Russia. On visiting Moscow shortly after the completion of his studies, which coincided with the advent of the First World War, Spies was interned with other German detainees in the Ural Mountains. Far from suffering hardship, his biographers have claimed that this period in Spies' life, spent among the nomadic Bashkir and Tartar peoples, stimulated the young artist's fascination for non-western folk cultures.[29] When Spies returned to Germany after the war, he associated with the modernist painters Otto Dix and Oskar Kokoschka and the film-maker F.W. Murnau. His own talent for painting was vindicated after the war with a successful debut exhibition in 1919, followed by others in the 1920s (Rhodius and Darling 1980:13, 17, 25). Success in Europe was not to captivate Spies' attention for long, however. In 1923 he departed for Java, where he secured the patronage of Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII (reign 1921–1939) in Yogyakarta (Rhodius and Darling 1980:21). With the exception of the KPM, which hired him as a tour guide for distinguished visitors to Bali,[30] indigenous elites were to remain Spies' major sponsors throughout his career in the Indies. Spies worked as conductor of the Sultan's European orchestra until 1925. Thereafter he was employed by Cokorda Gede Agung Sukawati of Ubud (Rhodius and Darling 1980:29; Vickers 1996:140, 159). In Bali, Spies immersed himself in a flourishing bohemian society of expatriate European intellectuals and local artists. He had a house built for himself in Campuan, overlooking the verdant valley below (Rhodius and Darling 1980:43). He also became curator of the Bali Museum at Denpasar and, together with the artists Bonnet and I Gusti Nyoman Lempad, as well as the Cokorda, Spies became one of the founding members of Pita Maha, an organization dedicated to preserving the integrity of new Balinese art.[31]

In Spies' landscape the artist was, characteristically, interested in the way that

**27** McPhee spent the 1930s between Bali, where he lived and worked for most of the decade, and Europe and North America. Some of his travels, research and composition interests are described in *A house in Bali* (2002).

**28** Vickers (1996:3, 23, 80) discusses colonial perceptions of Bali as a 'museum' of Javanese Hindu culture. See also Robinson 1995:48. Henk Schulte Nordholt (1996:217–34, 240–5) avoids the term, but does discuss the obsession of the Dutch administration on Bali with 'restoring tradition'. The notion of Bali as living museum is also embedded in the title of the work by Hitchcock and Norris 1995 (*Bali: The imaginary museum*).

**29** Spies' letters from this period reveal his rather genteel internment: see the published letters in Rhodius 1964:65–75. See also the discussions in Rhodius and Darling 1980:11; Couteau 1999:19.

**30** Ten Kate 1999:132. The period in which Spies was active coincided with the birth of tourism on Bali. There were 100 visitors a year in 1930, and 250 a year by 1940 (Vickers 1996:97).

**31** Ten Kate 1999:133, 136, 138. Pita Maha also exported selected artworks to overseas buyers. It was disbanded when war broke out in 1942.

**32** Vickers 1996:33. Vickers cites the example of local responses to the missionary Rutger van Eck, active in the mid-nineteenth century, who achieved one conversion to Christianity – a man who subsequently murdered Van Eck's successor.

deep time was implicated in Balinese nature (Figure 4.4). It was arguably this quality of historical continuity that for Spies typified the island's Hindu character. In Spies' painting a mountainous, densely forested vista opens before the viewer, spectacularly illuminated by golden sunlight. The scene is flanked by a closer, much darker landscape that puts the fiery mountains into a relief evocative of deep time. Indeed, Romantic painters sometimes used a similar technique to contrast past and present, although usually the antique landscapes in such images was set into the background, not the foreground (Wood 2001:127). By contrast, Spies' location of the mountain, a potent Hindu landmark, at the front of the painting emphasizes the currency of the pre-monumental past in the artist's conception of Bali's sacred landscapes. The image of a temple complex silhouetted against the night sky is reflected in a still pool of water along the top edge of the picture. The Hindu landscapes of the present, then, are distant in Spies' painting, while the primaeval landscapes of the pre-Hindu past are foregrounded.

Bali's Hindu landscapes perhaps offered colonial artists like Spies and Nieuwenkamp a benign ideal of non-Christian (and pre-Islamic) worship, one that was viewed as tranquil and meditative, indicative of attention to exotic ritual rather than incendiary dogma, and importantly, closer to nature than to politics. However, religion on Bali was neither benign nor apolitical. Nineteenth-century Christian missions to the island were patently unsuccesful. In fact, local responses to foreign evangelists in North Bali were so hostile that the colonial government banned further missions until the twentieth century.[32] After Dutch rule had been more or less consolidated on the island and the political influence of Balinese rulers had been curtailed, indigenous elites often clung to their religious authority as a way to retain their status (Vickers 1996:135–6). In the minds of many Balinese themselves, then, it was quite likely that religion and politics were as closely connected at the dawn of the twentieth century as they had always been.

Both Spies' and Nieuwenkamp's images of religious themes in Balinese landscapes diverged strikingly from representations of sacred spaces by contemporary Balinese artists. Spies privileged Balinese nature over more recent, monumental sites of worship, while Nieuwenkamp connected built and natural landscapes in his version of sacred spaces. Both artists portrayed curiously empty landscapes, sparsely peopled in the latter case and entirely unpopulated in the former. Nieuwenkamp's central Balinese figure suggested that solitary introspection was at the core of Balinese religious experience, and

**4.4** Walter Spies, *Landscape* (1930s)

that deities were abstract, if not invisible, entities. Balinese depictions of sacred Hindu spaces, in contrast to Spies' vacant landscape and Nieuwenkamp's lonely vista, were usually teeming with human life. Sacred landscapes were chiefly characterized by human and supernatural activity. Religious festivals appear as pageants of worshippers, gods and spirits, all crowded within the same landscape, often with frightening vividness. Indeed, the anthropological work of Hildred Geertz demonstrates how Balinese religious art expresses a belief that human connections with gods and spirits are public and contemporaneous, not historical and internalized, particularly during religious festivals when sacred landscapes come alive, as it were, with supernatural beings. The paintings collected by the anthropologists Mead and Bateson in the village of Batuan during 1937 revealed local concerns with *sakti* (spirtual power, both good and evil) and its mobilization in temple rituals. Balinese religious life, according to Geertz's interpretation of these paintings, was pervaded by spirits in conflict with one another and with humans. Balinese cosmology accounts for *niskala* (intangible qualities) as well as *sikala* (tangible qualities). Because the powers of spirits are *niskala*, they must become *sikala* in order to have material consequences. Religious ceremonies encourage this transformation (Geertz 1994:2, 32). In a later study on the functions of the village temple at Batuan in the post-colonial period, Geertz's analysis of temple art and rituals led her to conclude that, to locals, the temple carvings were *tenget* (animated by spirits). Since temple ceremonies functioned as royal receptions for deities – who assemble with their entourages at the temple where they are worshipped, fed and entertained by the human congregation – carvings are instrumental to religious ceremonies, aiding the interaction of humans, spirits, deities and demons. The general purpose of a Balinese temple, therefore, is to provide a place for *niskala* beings to stay while they visit the material world (Geertz 2004:7–8, 20, 66–7, 244). Geertz (2004:73) contends that 'Balinese ritual draws not so much from the respect and the worship given the cosmic potency of their gods as from the terrible anxieties of impending or continuing physical suffering due to godly anger […] [A]ll Balinese rituals are at base propitiations of potentially destructive spiritual beings […] followed by rituals of gratititude.' The colonial ideal of the sacred Balinese landscape, then, was deeply incongruent with the realities of Hindu-Balinese worship, and with the modes of representation that indigenous artists employed to depict it.

## The Aceh War and Dutch views of Islam in the late colonial period

The exceptionalism of Bali in the European imagination and in Dutch colonial visual culture stands in sharp relief when viewed against the events that dominated colonial politics during the late nineteenth and

**33** General J.B. van Heutsz was made Governor of Aceh in 1903, the year that the province was declared pacified (Vickers 1996:13). Michael Laffan (2003:39), however, dates the end of the war as 1910. Anthony Reid (2005:339–40) points out that fighting continued until 1914 in the Gayo region, and in the south of the province throughout the 1920s. Peter van Zonneveld (2001:7) puts the effective end of the war at 1942.

early twentieth centuries. The conquest of Bali closely followed Dutch annexation of the northern Sumatran province of Aceh, a campaign which was formally declared complete in 1903, although resistance to Dutch rule continued for decades afterwards. Ongoing scholarly debates over the finality of Dutch subjugation of the province provide some insight into the controversy of the war in its own time.[33] The victory monument celebrating the Netherlands' triumph in Aceh, erected at the Amsterdam Exhibition in 1883, preceded the official (if not final) conclusion of the conflict by two decades (Bloembergen 2006:72). Historians have often noted that many Acehnese never accepted formal declarations of defeat, and that the province remained a concern for the Dutch until the Japanese occupation effectively put an end to colonial rule in 1942.[34] The beginning of the Aceh War is less contentious. Military attempts to bring the province under colonial administration were launched in 1873. However, Dutch forces did not anticipate the violent, organized and resolute resistance that they encountered, and were unprepared for the protracted conflict that ensued. Estimates of casualties among colonial forces range from 10,000 to 16,000. As was often the case, Dutch forces fared better than local populations. Acehnese deaths over the duration of the war number somewhere between 25,000 and 100,000.[35] The length and ferocity of the war deeply influenced not only late-colonial policy, but also cemented a more general rift between Dutch conceptions of Islam as compared to other religions in the Indies.

The Aceh War was not the first conflict in the Netherlands Indies to draw resistance from Indonesian Muslim leaders. Earlier colonial conflicts such as the Java War (1825–1830) and the Padri War (1820–1841) in the Minangkabau region of Sumatra had also stimulated Islamic opposition. Prince Diponegoro, leader of the uprising in Java, was known to have regarded his adversaries as infidels with no right to rule over devout Muslims (Carey 2007). After his death in 1855, Diponegoro was frequently portrayed by artists (both European and Indonesian) in Arab garb to evoke his Muslim piety.[36] However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Dutch victory in 1830 and the subjugation of Java's sultans thereafter were both touted as final and complete in mid-nineteenth century accounts of the war. The Padri Wars, by contrast, gave some premonition of how religious conflicts could embroil the colonial state in longer campaigns. The Padri movement began in 1803, when three Muslim pilgrims returned to Minangkabau with news of the Wahhabi movement that had swept through Mecca. Wahhabism, a puritanical, revivalist variety of Islam, would often assume militant forms in the Indies.[37] Reformists in Sumatra became known as 'padris' because of their association with the port of Pedir in Aceh, through which all hajis from Mecca returned to the island. Inspired by Wahhabi exhortations to look to the Qu'ran rather than to monarchs for

**34** Reid (2005:339–40) notes that some 4000 Dutch troops remained stationed in Aceh until the end of the colonial period. Ricklefs (2001:189) observes that Aceh was the only region the Dutch did not attempt to reclaim when the Japanese were expelled from the Indies at the close of the Pacific War.

**35** Anthony Reid's estimate (2005:14, 267, 339) of Dutch casualties ranges between 10,000 and 16,000, while Colin Brown (2003:99) has posited that 15,000 KNIL soldiers died. Reid estimates that over a period of 40 years, somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 Acehnese died, whereas Brown contends there were 25,000 Acehnese casualties.

**36** Diponegoro was shown in Arab costume in F.V.H.A. de Stuer's *Mémoires sur la Guerre de L'Ile de Java de 1825 à 1830* (Leyde: Luchtmans, 1833). Diponegoro also appeared in Muslim clothing in Nicolaas Pieneman's painting, *The capture of Diponegoro* (1830), as well as the Javanese artist Raden Saleh's *The arrest of Diponegoro* (1857).

**37** Eliraz 2004:38, 45, 57. The Wahhabi movement was named after its leader, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), who advocated a return to sharia ('the way').

governance, padris and their followers sought to debunk the traditional (*adat*) rulers of Minangakabau and implement sharia law. The *adat* rulers appealed to the colonial state for military intervention and, after 1837, were successful in quashing the padri movement and establishing secular rule (Steenbrink 1993:74; Laffan 2003:30; Taylor 2003:254–6; Reid 2005:233–4).

The role of religion in the Aceh War differed qualitatively from these previous conflicts. Aceh boasted a rich and venerable history of Islamic culture and courtly tradition. During the early seventeenth century, Aceh had been the most powerful Islamic sultanate in Southeast Asia. Indeed, while the VOC was busy establishing a capital on Java, its emmissaries clamoured among the representatives of rival European powers to pay tribute at Aceh's royal court (Reid 2005:7, 113, 125–7). The province, which was known as 'the veranda of Mecca' in the seventeenth century for its contribution to Muslim study and learning, continued to act as an important node in an international network of Islamic scholarship and travel until well into the nineteenth century.[38] During the colonial period, Aceh also attracted formidable allies whose interest in the province troubled the Dutch administration. During the early months of the Dutch military campaign, for example, Aceh and its allies courted Turkish support (which, it should be noted, was ultimately not forthcoming) (Reid 2005:239, 241–6).

The Aceh War has often been explained by historians as the consequence of late-imperial politics: that is, accelerated Dutch attempts to consolidate their colonial borders in response to competition from American and British interests in the region (Ricklefs 2001:186; Brown 2003:98). Revisionist scholars have interpreted the Dutch campaign to subjugate Aceh somewhat differently; namely, as a pre-emptive strike against Islamic forces agitating at the periphery of colonial control. Karel Steenbrink (1993:82), for instance, has posited that certain powerful Dutch officials exploited government concerns about political Islam as a means of securing funding for military ventures. Michael Laffan (2000:79, 81) argues more forcefully that Dutch colonial expansion occured partly in response to the perceived threat of Islam in the Indies and, more broadly, Southeast Asia. With diminutive exceptions like Bali (which was deliberately cultivated by the colonial government as a buffer zone against Muslim conversion in the Indies),[39] it was Islam that in many regards unified Dutch colonial territory. Indeed, Islam united a considerable number of colonized peoples across the world, from the Netherlands Indies, British India and British Malaya in Asia to numerous European colonies in the Middle East and North Africa. As Laffan has pointed out, among the literate Muslim classes of Southeast Asia, there had long been a consiousness of belonging to a larger Islamic community. For centuries this notion had been expressed in the designation of the region as the '*umma* [world/community] below the winds' of the monsoon, distant from but indelibly connected to the Arab holy lands.[40] In the late nineteenth century, Southeast Asian Muslims became increasingly mindful of their religious solidarity, largely due to the same advances in technology that brought more Europeans to the Indies. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the haj (piligrimage to Mecca), became a tangible possibility for an unprecendented number of Muslims. In the first half of the nineteenth century, an average of 100 hajis per year had been recorded by Dutch officials as returning to the Indies. By the end of the colonial period, perhaps as many as 40,000 Muslims from the Indies were known to be making the journey. Indonesians constituted the single largest 'national' group of pilgrims in Mecca during this period.[41]

Once the Aceh War began it was consistently characterized in both Acehnese and Dutch accounts as a religious war. Indeed, Laffan (2001:39) has argued that the Aceh War ought in fact to be considered as the 'most protracted jihad of the nineteenth century'. It was in this regard that Aceh differed most significantly from previous theatres of colonial conflict in the Indies. From the mid-1880s onwards, it was the *ulama* (religious scholars) who clearly led the fight against the Dutch (Ricklefs 2001:187; Reid 2005:14). It was not until 1898 that the tide began to turn in favour of the colonists. The campaign led by J.B. van Heutsz – who was subsequently hailed as a war hero and made Governor-General of

the Indies – co-opted the Acehnese fighters' use of guerrilla tactics and specifically targetted the *ulama* (Laffan 2001:89, 93–4). At the same time, the Dutch pointedly sought an allegiance with Aceh's secular elites (*ulèëbalang*), whom they hoped to absorb into the machinery of government as they had done with the *bupati* (regents) of Java (Ricklefs 2001:188). This political aspect of the campaign was engineered by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), advisor to the colonial government on Native and Arab Affairs between 1891 and 1907. An erudite scholar of Islam and a highly competent colonial administrator, Snouck Hurgronje represented the new breed of civil servants who were trained in Leiden or Delft during the late nineteenth century to become a professional class of bureaucrats. Many combined degrees in law, medicine or engineering with studies in 'Indology', a new, multi-disciplinary field that focused on Indonesian languages and customs (Van Leur 1989:19–38; Fasseur 1993; Laffan 2001:74). Like his predecessor, Karel Frederik Holle (1829–1896), Snouck Hurgronje took an anthropological approach to his subject area. Both men converted to Islam, and both used their connections with local Muslims in order to acquire information for the colonial government. In 1873 Holle had even been despatched to Singapore, in the company of his Sundanese brother-in-law, to monitor regional responses to the Dutch invasion of Aceh. In 1885, Snouck Hurgronje, who was fluent in Arabic, spent half a year in Mecca with the intention of completing the haj (at which he failed) (Laffan 2001:61–2, 71–2). Though both men were opposed to permitting a political role for Islam in the Indies, it was Snouck Hurgronje's recommendations to the government that had the greatest impact on colonial policy. He was responsible for developing the approach that became known as 'associationism', a policy that fostered the closer integration of Indonesian secular elites with the Dutch colonial bureaucracy in a program of shared (if unequal) governance.

In attempting to decouple anti-colonial revolt from religious zealotry and, more particularly, to neutralize the threat of Islamic radicalism from spreading among Indonesian elites, Snouck Hurgronje had touched upon a concern that was evidently more widespread in Dutch colonial society. Corrupt indigenous officials had long been a favourite target of satirical colonial fiction, before the Aceh War religion had barely registered in colonial literature as a source of concern. In the mid-nineteenth century novel *Max Havelaar*, for instance, Eduard Douwes Dekker's iniquitous Bantenese *bupati* was tarnished mainly by the commonplace vices of avarice and vanity. By contrast, in 1900, when Louis Couperus' novel *The hidden force* was published, the Javanese villain was depicted as a far more treacherous figure because of his religious zealotry. While the novel's protagonist, Resident Otto van Oudijck, dismisses the Muslim piety of his enemy, the Regent Sunario, as absurd fanaticism,[42]

**38** This was one of the reasons why Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje went there in 1889 (Steenbrink 2001:85; Laffan 2003:19, 20). Research on Acehnese manuscripts illustrates the province's important historic role in Islamic scholarship (Gallop 1996, 2005).

**39** During the 1920s and 1930s, the colonial government attempted to cordon Bali and the semi-Christianized eastern islands of the Indies off from contact with Java and the other Muslim islands to the west and north, partly to isolate them from nationalist agitation (Robinson 1995:3840).

**40** See Laffan 2003 and his use of the term throughout, especially at pp. 10 and 13.

**41** Vickers 1996:52; Laffan 2001:33, 39, 47, 49. Colonial photographs also document the journey of pilgrims from the Indies. See, for example, an image taken in 1901, KITLV, image code 19697.

**42** 'He found Sunario false, he was not an official, not a Regent, merely a fanatical Javanese who surrounded himself with secrets.' (Couperus 1982:31–2.)

Couperus (1863–1923) depicts this judgment as a dangerous misunderstanding. The 'hidden forces' that Sunario unleashes against Van Oudijck are clearly meant to evoke occult powers associated with Javanese mysticism, but Couperus inserts important cues into the narrative that suggest Sunario's role as a Muslim leader also played a role in the Dutch official's downfall. The recurring figure of the haji provides a case in point. At the climactic point in the novel where Van Oudijck's wife is about to seduce Addy de Luce, her step-daughter's lover, after a string of other sexual misdemeanors including an affair with her stepson, the Javanese maid Urip glimpses a ghostly haji in the garden: a sign, perhaps, that the local Islamic community was monitoring the immoral behaviour of the Dutch interlopers. The haji reappears as a mysterious but triumphant figure at the end of the novel, after Van Oudijck is finally defeated and his last remaining Dutch friend is about to desert him for Europe. A large group of hajis just returned from Mecca arrive at the train station, attracting a crowd of faithful admirers. Van Oudijck and his friend feel outnumbered, excluded and suddenly insecure among the throng of Muslims:

> […] they felt It, That – both of them – both together this time, in the midst of this fanatical multitude…
>
> And in feeling it, along with the sorrow of their parting, which pressed immediately upon them, they did not see amid the waving, heaving, buzzing multitude who reverently hustled the yellow and purple dignity of the hajis returned from Mecca; they did not see the one, great white haji rising above the crowd and peering with a grin at the man who, in spite of how he had lived his life in Java, had been weaker than That… (Couperus 1982:206.)

Java was of particular concern to the Dutch in the early twentieth century. Once Islam had became associated with sections of the fledgling nationalist movement, government surveillance of religious activity on the island became more purposeful. In 1913, when a branch of Sarekat Islam opened in the Batavian suburb of Meester Cornelis, Dutch officials vigilantly noted the increase in mosque attendance (Abeyasekere 1987:57, 104–5). Government concerns about the rise in Hadrami Arab immigration to Batavia also became more acute. By 1930 more than 6000 Arabs populated the colonial capital, many of them adherents to Wahhabist forms of Islam.[43]

The Aceh War coincided with a global surge in pan-Islamic, anti-colonial nationalism that not only challenged Dutch sovereignty in the Indies, but also troubled French and British colonial governments along the sea routes between Africa, the Middle East and Asia (Laffan 2001, 2003; Reid 2005:226–48). Dutch political interventions in Muslim affairs in the Indies were therefore often cautious, and even after the subjugation of Aceh the colonial state was frequently forced to make concessions

**43** Abeyasekere 1987:109. Many other large cities in the Indies were home to large populations of Hadrami immigrants. In 1905, some 29,000 people of Arab descent were counted in the Netherlands Indies census (Reid 2005:230–1).

**44** Before the late nineteenth century, Southeast Asian mosques tended to feature few walls and were structurally supported by large internal pillars. Their multi-tiered rooves demonstrate the lingering influence of Hindu and Buddhist architecture (O'Neill 1991:225, 227, 233). On the construction of the Bait ur-Rahman mosque, see Taylor 2003:259.

**45** On Madelon Székely-Lulofs' novels, see Peterson 2001; Okker 2008; on the television series *De hongertocht; 'In naam der Koningin'*, see Trouwborst 2001.

**46** Zweers 1989:110–6; Groeneveld 1991. Nieuwenhuis' report was published as *De expeditie naar Samalanga; (Januari 1901): Dagverhaal van een fotograaf te velde* (Amsterdam: Van Holkema and Warendorf, Batavia: Kolff, 1901). Zweers (1989:110–6) mentions that at one stage of the campaign Nieuwenhuis felt compelled to abandon his camera to help Dutch casualities.

to Muslim interests. Indeed, the constitution of the Indies forbade the government from interfering in religious matters unless law and order were at stake (Locher-Scholten 2000b:144). Some areas of public policy were particularly controversial, notably regulations pertaining to family life. In 1937, for instance, in response to widespread protest from Islamic lobbyists on Java, the government was forced to withdraw proposals for legislation that would have outlawed polygamy (Locher-Scholten 2000b:142–3, 146). Only in Europe, before their imperial peers, did the Dutch dare to brazenly refute the political and cultural authority of Islam in the Indies, a position that would have been untenable for the colonial state to adopt in the Indies itself. As we have already seen, it was Hindu and Buddhist architecture that was chosen to represent the Indies at international colonial exhibitions, despite the fact that Islam was the religion practiced by the majority of the population. Dutch views of the Hindu-Buddhist antecedents of Islamic culture and architecture in the Indies assumed the comparative status of organic religions, 'naturally' embedded in the landscape. So entrenched were these assumptions that they authorized interventions to correct what Europeans perceived as aberrant manifestations of Islam in the Indies. In 1873, during fighting around the royal compound in Kota Raja, Aceh's capital, the Bait ur-Rahman mosque was destroyed by colonial troops. Indifferent to the style of most Indies mosques, which followed the pavilion model common throughout Southeast Asia, the Dutch, with the aid of an Italian architect, reconstructed the mosque with the domes and turrets that were more characteristic of Indo-Saracenic buildings in South Asia. (The Dutch were evidently more convinced of the authenticity of Islam in India than were the British who, ironically, viewed the Muslim Mughal rulers as imposters) (Cohn 1983:166). Although this model later gained influence throughout northern Sumatra and also Malaysia, initially the foreign design of the Bait ur-Rahman mosque was so unpopular among Aceh's religious leaders that they rejected it as inappropriate for worship.[44]

Quite apart from the political atmosphere and the policy shifts that were associated with the Aceh War, a conflict like this one had simply never been seen, in a literal sense, by Dutch audiences before. Among critical novelists such as Madelon Székely-Lulofs, who grew up on Sumatra in the shadow of the war, the conflict stimulated a lifelong interest in some of the ill-fated Dutch and Acehnese figures whose lives illustrated the tragedy of the conflict. Her novels *De hongertocht* (1937) and *Tjoet Nja Din* (1948) brought Dutch as well as Acehnese figures from the war to a broad, Dutch-reading audience. *De hongertocht* was made into a popular Dutch television series in 1996.[45] Vivid literary reflections on the war had been preceded by striking visual images. During earlier colonial conflicts like the Java War, Dutch audiences were forced to rely upon written accounts and hand-drawn images for information. The invention of photography fundamentally changed the way in which war was depicted, bringing its brutality closer to European audiences while also providing new material for military propaganda. In Aceh, several Dutch photographers were commissioned to record images of the colonial campaign for illustrated reports and popular magazines. Some, like C.B. Nieuwenhuis, who published his images of the war in 1901, were deeply disturbed by what they saw.[46] The result of one Dutch punitive expedition into rebel hinterlands furnished a grisly photographic record. The mission, undertaken over a period of five months in 1904 (after the formal declaration of Dutch victory), resulted in the deaths of nearly 3000 men, women and children: up to a third of the population of the Gayo and Alas regions (Nieuwenhuys 1988:161; Bossenbroek 2001:20). One photograph from this campaign shows a razed landscape still occupied by the KNIL soldiers responsible for the damaged buildings and the dead bodies that litter the ground (Nieuwenhuys 1988:161). These were landscapes destroyed and desecrated, the dead buried in mass graves rather than given the Islamic rites that would have otherwise been expected.

Even hand-drawn images suggest a fundamental change in colonial perceptions of the nature of the Aceh War compared to its antecedents. Gone were remote, sanitized views like F.V.H.A. de Stuers' depictions of the Java War. A lithograph by L. van Veer, entitled *Bestorming van een kampong*

*of missigit* (Figure 4.5), shows Dutch forces attacking 'a village or mosque' in Aceh. The image illustrated a contemporary Dutch-language account of the war, *De oorlog met Atchin, beschreven en afgebeeld voor het Nederlandsche volk* ('The war with Aceh, described and pictured for the people of the Netherlands'), by P. Vergers. In Van Veer's image, locals are distinguished as Muslims by their white, vaguely Arab costume for the benefit of Dutch audiences. Colonial forces launch their assault in jungle-combat gear within a thickly forested setting. In depictions of the Aceh War, the panoramic distance between viewer and subject that often characterized colonial painting was thus abridged, and the landscape was portrayed as giving sanctuary to enemies. Indeed, it was dense, largely unchartered jungle that formed the setting for most of the guerilla fighting in the latter stages of the campaign.[47]

Dutch artists, as this example suggests, clearly contributed to the wartime propaganda that circulated in the Netherlands, particularly in the press.[48] However, artists did not generally engage with the relationship between the spiritual appeal of Islam to its followers and its monumental presence in Indies landscapes. The long duration and ferocity of the Aceh War, coupled with the rise of pan-Islamism and anti-colonial nationalism in the late-colonial period, provide the context for Islam's failure to inspire colonial landscape painters in the way that Hinduism did. This is not to say that European artists were completely disinterested in Aceh's environment. The extensive work of O.G.H. Heldring, who ventured to Aceh around the time that the war began, provides a case in point. Many of his works show an appreciation for the beauty and diversity of the region's natural landscapes. These images reached a wider European audience in the form of an album entitled *Oost Java en Atjeh, 1880–1883; Schetsen naar de natuur genomen* (East Java and Aceh, 1880–1883;

**4.5** L. van Veer, *Bestorming van een kampong of missigit* (1875)

Treasures from nature).[49] Artists, scholars and archaeologists also expressed a diligent interest in Islamic monuments in the Indies, particularly mosques and Muslim tombs, which figure frequently in colonial collections both as architectural curiosities and as sites of active Muslim pilgrimage and worship.[50] However, in Dutch colonial visual culture, depictions of Islamic monuments in Indies landscapes typically maintain an imaginative distance from their subject matter and have the neutral quality of reportage. In this regard, colonial artists distinguished themselves not only from the work of westerners in Bali, but also from the Orientalists who depicted the Muslim landscapes and peoples of the Middle East and North Africa as alluring. The vast majority of late-colonial images of Islamic sites in Indies landscapes are devoid of the fantasy, opulence and exoticism that characterize these other, contemporary visions of colonized landscapes.

## Conclusions

Dutch territorial expansion and cultural imperialism in the Indies was increasingly challenged and occasionally frustrated by Muslim opposition in the late-colonial period, a contest that stimulated deep colonial ambivalence toward Islam. By contrast, the great religions that preceded Islam in the Indies intrigued and inspired colonial artists, scholars and officials. Indeed, Hinduism and Buddhism were legitimized, through their apparent harmony with Indies landscapes, as historic and natural outgrowths of those landscapes themselves in colonial art. The antiquities of Central Java provided opportunity for colonial artists and scholars alike to indulge a combination of creative contemplation and scientific inquiry. In the imaginative space between the materiality of the monuments of Java, the passage of time and the relentless creep of tropical vegetation, Europeans conjured a vision of the past (as well as the future) that was unfettered by the challenges of the late-colonial present. Bali, especially, in its very marginality from the religious majority in the Netherlands Indies, resonated with European fantasies about the nexus between nature and spirituality in the pre-Islamic past.

Sometimes colonial images led to distortions that would only be corrected by researchers in the post-colonial period, when Indonesians were placed at the centre of their own histories. On Bali, artists often misconstrued the meaning and function of Hindu sites of worship. In their fervour to understand and depict a living variant of Hinduism, some European painters inadvertently romanticized religious practice on Bali in their works. In colonial artists' depictions of Indies landscapes, in their emphases and ommissions, can be detected the tensions between fear and fantasy that animated colonial views toward religion, and the challenge that Islam in particular posed to the sovereignty of the colonial state.

Where imagination was exercised by colonial artists with respect to Islam, it

**47** Rob Nieuwenhuys (1988:155), who included photographs from the Aceh War in *Met vreemde ogen*, characterized this landscape as a 'dark green, continuously stifling and dark primaeval forest [*oerbos*]'. See also Ricklefs 2001:187.

**48** Although Dutch journalists were cynical about the Netherlands' motives for occupying Aceh in the first instance, criticism actually increased after the war was over (Van Weringh 2001:69, 73–4). In the Indies itself, the press was divided over the merit of the Aceh War, insofar as criticism was even tolerated by colonial authorities (Termorshuizen 2001:32–3, 36).

**49** Taylor 2003:19. See Heldring's two drawings of a mountain entitled *De Gle Raja* (The Gle Raja), KITLV, image codes 36D454 and 37B549.

**50** For Muslims, visiting the graves of holy men was meaningful because they were seen as sources of spiritual energy (Laffan 2003:29). See, for example, KITLV, image code 17815, which captures a *penghulu* (chief mosque official) paying his respects to the grave of a haji near Pandeglang in 1906. The KITLV holds a number of photographs of Muslim gravestones, several from a site in Pekalongan taken around 1890 by an unknown photographer: see KITLV, image codes 18695, 18697–18710. See also KITLV, image code 28087, a photograph of the burial site of Adulrachman (a major saint) at Geudong in Aceh, whose gravestone announces that he died 3 December 1329.

dwelt on themes of danger, fanaticism and difference, articles of colonial faith concerning what distinguished this religion from the tranquil exoticism of Hinduism. By the late nineteenth century, especially after the onset of the Aceh War, the explicit association between Islam and politics among Dutch officials and scholars was also affecting visual and literary depictions of Muslim spaces in colonial art and culture. Although natural landscapes were recorded appreciatively by some Dutch artists in Aceh, the colonial view of the region that came to dominate European accounts was overshadowed by concerns over militant Islam. Muslim landscapes were depicted as inimical to the idealized topography of religious space that had been constructed around contemporary and historical Hinduism. It was ancient and living Hindu landscapes that played a crucial role in defining the exotic, benign and seemingly apolitical character of those sacred spaces that were preferred by Dutch colonists in the Indies.

CHAPTER FIVE

# Seductions of the tropics

## Race, class and gender in colonial images of nature and landscape

The notion that colonial societies were differentiated according to racial and gender hierarchies is so well established in the historical literature that it hardly requires repetition.[1] Much of the recent scholarship on constructions of race and gender in the Netherlands Indies, particularly the work of Ann Laura Stoler (1995, 2002, 2009), has focused on public scrutiny of private lives and domestic quarters. In the late-colonial period, the persistence of intimate relationships between European men and Asian women in the Indies attracted increasing official censure. The 'problems' resulting from such unions, as identified by the colonial state and scientific experts, included a suspect Indo-European population whose marginal political and economic status threatened to undermine the stability of the colonial order (Stoler 1990). As 'going native' occurred behind closed doors, within the sanctity of the family, private lives were routinely subject to official intervention in the Netherlands Indies. However, the dangers of going native arguably also lay at the doorstep. Since social lives are conducted in and with reference to our natural environment, it surely follows that social categories like race, class and gender are also ecologically fashioned. European notions of the tropics in the colonial period involved negotiations 'between tropical imaginings and sensuous, embodied experiences' (Cosgrove 2005:197). In the Netherlands Indies, as in other colonial contexts, images of tropical nature and landscape were invested with cultural significance, and representations of the environment often mirrored contemporary moral and social concerns. Colonists in the Indies were not only surrounded by Indonesians; they were also encompassed by a natural environment widely thought to engender moral and sexual proclivities that differed fundamentally from those shaped by European geography. Colonial fears of enervation in the tropics – of European cultural values being eroded by Indies nature – were embedded within notions of social difference.

Some progress toward examining the associations between race, gender and tropical nature has been made by Anne McClintock in her study of British colonial culture. Her influential book *Imperial leather* introduced the provocative term 'porno-tropics' to evoke a fetishistic colonial notion of the tropics as sensual and feminine, alluring yet dangerous (McClintock 1995:21). Though thought-provoking and often compelling, McClintock's Freudian analysis overdetermines the role of the feminine in colonial images of the tropics. This chapter demonstrates that a masculine gaze did indeed inform colonial representations of the tropics as an environment ripe with sensuality and sexual opportunity, especially in colonial painting. However, colonial visual culture in the Netherlands Indies reflected and produced differentiated representations of nature and landscape. In photography as well as colonial fiction, Indies environments were not consistently feminized so much as racialized. In colonial photographs the heterosexual nexus between a masculine European gaze, tropical landscapes and Asian women was sometimes disrupted by

homoerotic desires. The source of colonial ambivalence toward the seductive power of the tropics thus resided in the equivalent attraction of Asian men and women. Their sensual association with nature in colonial culture was located in a racial affiliation between Asians and the tropics.

## Gender, nature and erotic opportunity in colonial visual culture

The sultry climate and vegetative exuberance of the tropics frequently evoked ambivalent responses from colonial observers. On the one hand, Europeans relished the fecundity and exploitative potential of Southeast Asia. On the other hand, colonists were troubled by anxieties regarding the ability of European society and culture to thrive in torrid zones. As discussed in Chapter 3, indolence and decadence were commonly thought to characterize the civilizations that had prospered (and declined) in the tropics. Furthermore, illnesses like malaria, which were poorly understood before the late nineteenth century, periodically threatened to decimate Europeans in the tropics (Van der Brug 2000). Even in the late-colonial era, when some advances had been made in tropical medicine, colonists continued to subscribe to the health benefits of an environment more similar to Europe: hence the widespread popularity of mountain resorts (or 'hill stations', as they were known in the British empire) throughout colonial South and Southeast Asia.[2] Fears over the tropical onslaught against colonial bodies had their counterparts in anxieties over the effect of the climate on European morals, particularly sexual mores. Here ambivalence once again framed a variety of colonial attitudes. On the one hand, the tropics were celebrated by European men as a locale rife with erotic opportunity and populated with naked goddesses in primal tune with 'nature' (both environmental and human). The same libertine atmosphere was, however, routinely credited with the erosion of the bourgeois morals that were so carefully constructed and maintained, both in Europe and in the colonies, around the control of sexuality.[3]

Colonial photography provides insights into how race and class mediated the differentiated representation of women's sexual morality according to their spatial mobility. The privilege of mobility was among the most salient aspects of the elite status enjoyed by European women in Indies society. Photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show Dutch women as automobile and train passengers, cyclists and ocean travellers, as well as participants in pleasure excursions to tourist spots like beaches, waterfalls and mountain resorts (Nieuwenhuys 1998:28, 123, 132–4, 136). Such images showed Dutch women taking advantage of the new transport and communications technologies of the late nineteenth century, and indicated that these women were free to move through (and beyond) colonial landscapes in ways that few other classes of Indies women

**1** This chapter is a revised version of Protschky 2008b, produced here with the permission of the publishers of *Gender & History*.

**2** For a discussion of mountain resorts in the Netherlands Indies, see Stoler 1990:55–6. On British hill stations in Asia, see Kenny 1995; Freeman 1999. For a comparative treatment of European hill stations throughout colonial Southeast Asia, see Spencer and Thomas 1948; Peleggi 2005. And for a discussion of French hill stations in Indochina, see Jennings 2006.

**3** For an examination of this theme in late-colonial Dutch literature, see Protschky 2008a. See also Hesselink 1992:208; Gouda 1995:116; Stoler 1995:156–7.

**4** See Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:14, 17–8, 184, which shows photographs of European men in the following guises: a natural scientist pursuing butterflies in the wild; an intrepid J.C. Koningsberger on expedition; one Professor Busgen exploring for plants; and a hunter who has set his topi on a felled Sumatran elephant. There are far fewer, if any, photographs of Dutch colonial women in similar poses and occupations, either in this particular collection or elsewhere.

**5** 'Native' dress was considered inappropriate for public attire among urban colonials, particularly Batavian Europeans, by the late-colonial period. In rural and remote areas the same convention was not so strictly adhered to, and *sarung kebaya* was still often worn in public (Taylor 1997b:111; Mrázek 2002:137).

were able to pursue. Upon closer inspection, however, late-colonial photographs also suggest that the movements of Dutch women were constrained by the strictures of respectability. Women travellers were usually shown accompanied by men, particularly on long journeys or through dangerous regions (Nieuwenhuys 1998:118). European men, on the other hand, appeared in photographs in various intrepid, exclusively male manifestations – as explorers, scientists and hunters, for example – that emphasized their authoritative freedom within Indies landscapes.[4] Photographs from the late-colonial period therefore suggest that even though Dutch women were able to travel further and more frequently through Indies landscapes than the majority of their Asian counterparts, the most familiar places to them remained those seen from their veranda or garden. This was where Dutch women were most often photographed, usually with their family around them.

An image of the De Vries family, taken on the threshold of the familial home, provides a representative example (Figure 5.1). It shows two women in *sarung* and *kebaya*, a Javanese costume adopted by Europeans for wearing at home when visitors were not expected.[5] They are accompanied by a man, a boy and a dachshund (dogs traditionally representing filial piety in Dutch visual culture). Colonial family portraits had followed a similar composition since the seventeenth century, as Jacob Coeman's image of the Family Cnoll demonstrates (Taylor 2006). The status of Dutch women as guardians of domestic spaces in such pictures was often conveyed by their proximity to the confines of the house. In the case of the De Vries women, this was just beyond the shade of the veranda. Feminist scholarship has shown that European women usually occupied subordinate positions in colonial society, just like their counterparts on the Continent; that they (together with European children) were under more or less constant surveillance, even in the home; and that their segregation from indigenous women was upheld wherever possible (except, importantly, in the household, where they relied on Asian servants) (Stoler 1990:35, 45, 48). The spatial location of Dutch women in Indies photography was therefore a reflection of their place in elite colonial society: as veranda-dwelling family women, privileged but confined to socially reproductive, 'inside' roles.

Dutch women shared this in common with their elite Javanese counterparts, who were sometimes portrayed from the late nineteenth century onwards in portraits that emphasized their function as progenitors of aristocratic dynasties. In such photographs women might be grouped with the children and grandchildren

**5.1** *The De Vries family*, Batavia (circa 1915)

of royal houses.[6] Since commissioned photographs were costly items, notable Asian women who sat for such portraits were also signalling their membership of an affluent social class that considered itself a patron of the arts, and educated in technological developments like photography (Groeneveld 1989:108; Wachlin 1994:13). Indeed, photo-portraits of elite Javanese women often communicated the authority and respect that they commanded (Maxwell 2000:13). The fine costumes, dignified postures and regal glare with which many of these women returned the camera's gaze suggest that they were as determined to have their rank and power commemorated as their male counterparts, both Asian and European. In one such photo, the wife of a Javanese *bupati* is shown presiding over a large retinue of female retainers seated on stairs beneath her. Showing her elevated rank, she monopolizes the only chair, placed in the middle of the group. Some of her servants have their eyes lowered but she returns the camera's gaze. Her hair is dressed and her collar is hung with necklaces; her hands rest splayed in her lap, the better to present all her rings.[7]

Significantly, high-ranking Javanese women were rarely photographed out of doors. They were associated instead with the civilized, domestic space that behoved their aristocratic status. Indeed, as upper-class Muslims they would not have been encouraged to venture far beyond the confines of their domestic quarters without an escort. Women formed an important component of official processions and special occasions in royal courts, but it would have been considered beneath them to be seen unaccompanied on public modes of transport like trains or trams.[8] Elite Javanese women were thus perhaps even more distantly associated with natural landscapes in colonial minds than Dutch women were. Indeed, colonial

**5.2** *Untitled* (1930s)

photographs suggest that it was ordinary indigenous women from the lower classes who left their mark on Dutch images of Indies landscapes, for the outdoors was the domain of commoner (particularly rural) women who had to work in order to provide for themselves and their families. Ordinary women laboured in rice fields and on plantations, commanded market stalls, and jostled on streets and river banks. Like their male counterparts, commoner women were also the subject of photographic explorations into 'ethnic types' that blurred the boundaries between scholarly anthropology and souvenir tourism.[9] The 'othering' of native women among colonial policy-makers, as Elsbeth Locher-Scholten (2000c:29) has cogently argued, occurred more frequently with reference to rural women than to any other class of Indonesian. Certainly on Java, women in the countryside tended to work outside the home and to be financially autonomous. They were therefore important to rural households for their labour contribution. Colonial policy-makers recognized peasant households as units of economic production, as opposed to upper class Javanese households, which were associated in colonial minds with (elite) social reproduction (Locher-Scholten 2000a:30, 33–4).

In colonial visual culture, lower class Javanese women were marked out in ways that distinguished them from women of higher status. Unlike both European and Asian elite women, as well as their male fellows, commoner women were more often subject to the probing gaze of photographers and painters in pursuit of erotic images. This is also true for lower class and rural Muslim women in other colonial contexts, such as the Middle East and North Africa.[10] In the Indies, pornographic photographs of native women (usually prostitutes) were intended for the consumption of male European clients who purchased such images, often discretely concealed within a paper sheath, as components of souvenir albums (Groeneveld 1989:87; Nieuwenhuys 1998:109–10). Some of these images suggest that photographers did not always rely upon the enthusiastic consent of the models they chose. The expressions of indifference, fear and aversion that mark their faces are among the most striking features of such pictures, although some others show women with cheeky, if not defiant, expressions (Nieuwenhuys 1998:109, 114–5). The simple intent of these photographs, most of them taken indoors or in confined spaces, is suggested by the fact that few accoutrements competed for attention with the models themselves. Surroundings were often starkly propless, emphasizing the complete focus of the camera on the figure.[11]

Rarely did photographers explore the painterly inclination, discussed further below, to obscure bald titillation at the sight of nude native women with scholarly references to classicism. It may be that practical issues – a reluctant model, the fear of interruption or discovery – prevented them from experimenting much with symbolic associations. An exception, perhaps, presents

**6** See, for example, a photograph of the mother of Pakubuwono IX with her grandchildren by his multiple wives, and a photograph of the infant Mangkunegoro VIII with his siblings and cousins, and their mothers (Nieuwenhuys 1988:17, 55).

**7** Nieuwenhuys 1988:90–1. For further images of elite Javanese women, see Nieuwenhuys 1988:17–8, 29, 32–3, 35, 38, 41–2, 50–5, 93–108.

**8** There are few (if any) images of elite Javanese women on trains. Rudolph Mrázek (2002:11) suggests that trains were generally less popular among upper class Javanese.

**9** See Boomgaard and Van Dijk 2001:92–3, 175, 236–7, 344, 399 for good examples of photographic 'ethnic types' who were often asked to pose in a studio surrounded by the accoutrements with which they were associated: Chinese and Javanese street vendors; a native teacher, student and servant; Minangkabau and Karo Batak women in *adat costuum* (traditional costume); a Dayak in war regalia; and a Minahasa 'priest' or holy man. Such images also appeared in popular travelogues, such as De Wit 1989:17, 69. On the use of photography in ethnography and colonial popular culture, see Maxwell 2000:9, 14.

**10** Graham-Brown 1988:25, 27, 45, 54, 60, 73–5. European portraitists sometimes relied on prostitutes to sit for them (Alloula 1986:17).

**11** Nieuwenhuys 1998, chapter entitled 'Dienaressen van Venus' (Servants of Venus). See also the image of a Sundanese prostitute in *Toekang Potret* 1989:79.

itself in the photographic work of Walter Spies (who was more commonly known for his paintings) on Bali, undertaken during the 1930s in collaboration with Beryl de Zoete, an eccentric and talented dance specialist and scholar. Spies took a candid but artful approach to his nude subjects. His photograph of three Balinese women bathing was taken discretely from above so that only their bare top halves could be seen, while their nether regions remained modestly obscured beneath the water (Hitchcock and Norris 1995:plate 83). Spies was less discreet in an accompanying image of boys bathing on the other side of the pool (Figure 5.2).[12] The youths were photographed at eye level and completely naked, providing a striking example of homoeroticism in colonial imagery. Indeed, Spies's sexual proclivities were well known on Bali and resulted in his arrest on charges of paedophilia in 1938 (Vickers 1996:106; Aldrich 2003:163–4). Even in his photographs, however, Spies was unable to curb his artistic inclinations. Some of them show an assistant standing by with a white sheet to control the distribution of light, a concern that often manifested in Spies's dramatic use of light in his paintings.[13]

Earlier photographic work on Bali illustrates similarly overt interest in bathing customs. Gregor Krause's *Bali; Volk, Land, Tänze, Feste, Tempel* (1926) documented two years' worth of observations during his employment at a hospital in Bangli, Central Bali. It was widely read by other westerners who later ventured to Bali, and contains some 30 pages of bathing nudes, men and women, washing alone or in groups segregated by sex.[14] Krause (1883–1960) used a hand-held camera to impose himself on lone bathers who sometimes bared their whole bodies and at other times seemed to seek a limit to the photographer's intrusions by twisting their bodies away from him or covering themselves. Indeed, a telling insight into his subjects' expectation of privacy is provided by Krause's group portraits. In every such instance, wherever a figure, male or female, is turned toward the prying lens a hand is employed to cover the genitals: hands that are absent from bodies within the group that face each other (Krause 1926:123, 137, 141, 144, 149, 150, 153). Krause's subjects seem therefore to have pursued means to guard against his presence, giving the lie to his claim that his intention in taking such photographs was to document the 'undisturbed' lives of the Balinese 'without their noticing'.[15]

It may be one of the defining features of colonial photography from the Netherlands Indies, as distinct from that of the classical 'Orient' (Saglia 1988; MacKenzie 1995; Benjamin 1997), that the tropical context lent itself more readily to homoerotic voyeurism. Lesbianism was certainly a recurring fantasy in photographs from French Algeria, as well as in late nineteenth-century harem paintings, but male homosexual fantasy rarely found direct expression in colonial visual culture in the Middle East and North Africa. On the other hand, there were many literary references to male homosexuality in the

**12** While the Horniman Museum, which holds this photograph in its Beryl de Zoete collection, prefers to consider the maker of the image as 'unknown' until further investigations are conducted (hence the caption adopted), I follow the standard interpretation – see Hitchcock and Norris (1995) – which holds that Spies was the maker of this photograph.
**13** Compare the photographs (plates 83 and 84), in Hitchcock and Norris 1995 to Spies' better-known paintings, in Rhodius and Darling 1980 and Spruit 1997. For a discussion of Spies as a photographer, see Stowell 1991.
**14** Krause 1926:123–53. On the influence of Krause's work in attracting other westerners to Bali, see Vickers 1996:99, 114.
**15** In the introduction to his book, Krause (1926:ix) professed that its aim was 'as a document of humans living in a manner that, in certain places, continued undisturbed by time'. Further, 'I undertook these projects with a hand-held camera so that no-one would notice having themselves photographed' (my translation). Clearly Krauses' endeavours were noticed, and his documentary impulses thereby disrupted the very modes of life that he sought to preserve.
**16** Unlike Spies, Bonnet eluded imprisonment for his proclivities. Indeed, Bonnet remained a leading figure in the Ubud arts scene until his death in 1978 (Spruit 1997:40–4).

French colonies, from North Africa through to Indochina (Proschan 2002; Aldrich 2003). In the Netherlands Indies, the reverse seems to have been true. With the possible exception of Louis Couperus' *The hidden force*, in which one scholar has identified a homosexual subplot (Aldrich 2003:119–22), homoerotic themes occur infrequently in Dutch colonial literature. By contrast, homoerotic opportunities were regularly pursued by Europeans on Bali through visual media, as evinced by the photographs of Spies and Krause and the paintings of Bonnet (who, like Spies, was homosexual).[16]

It was the immediacy of the colonial photographer's presence in the image-making process that heightened the sense of voyeurism implicit in representations of female and male bodies in Indies landscapes. Photographers physically intruded into private and public spaces; they elicited responses from their subjects that demonstrated how invasive their camera-pointing could be. Images of Asians washing and bathing in streams and river shallows frequently illustrated this point. One photograph of women bathing in the Molenvliet, a major canal in Batavia, shows how the camera was able to 'capture' an image of women going about their business washing clothes, some partly submerged, others squatting on the canal's banks, perhaps oblivious to the intrusion that was about to be visited upon them because the photographer was hovering over them from a height rather than confronting them directly (Nieuwenhuys 1988:137). The photograph was taken from an elevated and slightly askew perspective, quite close and cropped, which gives the impression of a hurriedly aimed apparatus thrust into a throng of women. A similar photograph of women bathing at a river, taken around 1910 (Figure 5.3), shows the startled and slightly

**5.3** *Women bathing at a river* (circa 1910)

angry expressions on the faces of the women interrupted at their task.

Dutch visitors to the Indies frequently expressed their fascination upon observing what was considered in Europe to be a private affair. The Dutch writer Augusta de Wit (1989:99) held that '[o]ne of the most fascinating scenes is that of the bath in the river, soon after sunrise'. De Wit (1989:98) observed that such practices among the 'Malays' (as she uniformly – and erroneously – referred to the Asians of Batavia) might seem 'strange to us Northerners', but that it was perfectly natural for natives 'to live in this manner'. Indeed, De Wit could barely refrain from partaking in the colonial penchant for voyeurism. She included in her book a photograph of 'A laundry in the river', showing three partly submerged women glancing warily at the photographer (De Wit 1989:100), and made an admiring comment on the young girls whom she observed 'making believe to bathe, as they empty little buckets made of palm leaf over each other's head and shoulders, until their black hair shines, and the running water draws their garments into flowers, clinging folds, that mould their lithe little figures from bosom to ankle' (De Wit 1989:99). That indigenous women bathed in public clearly seemed, to some Europeans, to invite observation. Indeed, the tone of vicariousness that pervades many colonial images of bathing men and women suggests that titillation was a crucial part of the experience of looking. Little consideration seems to have been given to the fact that Indonesian bathers may have retained a certain expectation of privacy from one another and from bystanders because they bathed in the open.

Photographers were not the only observers who stopped to record Indonesians bathing publicly. Painters were equally captivated by the subject. Indeed, this preoccupation represented one of the most distinctive associations between native women and Indies landscapes in colonial art. Thematically and stylistically, European painters in the Indies produced a remarkably cohesive body of work in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whether they were working in 1824 or 1924, Indies painters were frequently given to idealize colonial landscapes and the Indonesian women who populated them. Painterly images of bathing scenes were more deliberately constructed, consciously artful representations than those of their photographer counterparts. Painters did not need to physically intrude (at least, not for long) on their subject's awareness in order to create images. They had the luxury of composing at their own leisure, from imagination or surreptitious observation. It is perhaps no coincidence that paintings of Indies women bathing were often viewed as though from a distance.[17] Painters rarely explored the awkward moments of bathing. Clumsy scrubbing and convoluted postures were absent from their work. Instead, figures were usually shown in leisurely, graceful poses that flattered and accentuated the figure. Painters also tended to intersperse their

**17** See, for example, two paintings by Maurits van den Kerkhoff (1830–1908), *View of the Brantas River near Malang (East Java)* and *The Brantas River and the Semeru volcano near Malang (East Java)* (Scalliet et al. 1999:82–3).
**18** Vickers 1996:77, 87. Vickers' book (1996:149) includes a tourist postcard of two Balinese women who were characterized as inhabitants of 'the island of bare breasts'.

images with classical references that dignified their voyeurism and indulged the notion of communion between native women and Indies landscapes.

Abraham Salm's *De badplaats Wenditt* (The bathing spot at Wenditt) serves to illustrate (Figure 5.4). Salm's conservative inclinations prevented him from depicting naked women without embellishing their image with the standard tools of nineteenth century official art – hence Salm's improbable predilection, in this instance, for Grecian robes and academic poses (MacIntyre and Mackenzie 1992:162). The painting, situated at a popular lakeside resort near Malang in East Java, includes a curious melange of tropical and classical markers. Palm trees and thatched huts crowd the banks of a lake that is littered with native women in various states of undress, some in flowing robes and contrived postures that would perhaps have been better suited to an Italianate pastoral landscape (Hamblyn and Chong 1991:60).

The prudery of nineteenth-century amateur artists on Java was replaced on Bali in the early twentieth century with the unfettered bohemian fantasies of professional artists. The latter freely indulged a partiality toward images of bare-breasted Balinese women that gripped many European observers in the 1920s and 1930s.[18] As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, it was on Bali that colonial painting distinguished itself, for the first time in Indies history, as a relatively lucrative venture. The artists who travelled to and settled on Bali were a new breed of tourist, often from wealthy families, who turned their backs on the functional role that painters had once occupied in the Indies, and began to make art for art's sake.

Perhaps the most prolific producer of idyllic scenes on Bali was Adrien Jean Le Mayeur de Merprès (1880–1958), the Belgian artist based at Sanur beach whose beautiful wife, a

**5.4** Abraham Salm, *De badplaats Wenditt* (1872)

Balinese dancer named Ni Pollok, frequently served as his artistic inspiration (Yati Maryati Wiharja 1976; Ubbens and Huizing 1995). Le Mayeur is today perhaps not among the best-known of the Bali artists, possibly because he rarely mixed with the more famous painters of Ubud. To his credit, however, and in contradistinction to most other Bali artists, Le Mayeur's paintings were studies in movement and vibrant colour: his figures, glimpsed enticingly through veils of riotous vegetation, seem always to be in mid-motion. However, like other paintings, these figures were always women, often bare-breasted or completely naked and positioned in or nearby water, as in Figure 5.5. The exotic cluster of scantily-clad women gamboling among pools and flowers was Le Mayeur's domestic life and also his fantasy, for it excluded everything beyond his garden wall, such as more diverse kinds of Balinese women (and Balinese men, who are invisible in his work), not to mention economic hardship and war. Le Mayeur lived at Sanur through both the 1930s depression and the Japanese invasion of the Indies a decade later, yet steadfastly worked at his idyllic, semi-erotic images throughout these periods, even when his supply of paints ran out.[19]

**5.5** Adrien Jean Le Mayeur de Merprès, *Enjoying life* (early twentieth century)

The eroticization of indigenous women at the hands of colonial artists was, of course, not restricted to those Europeans painting in the Netherlands Indies. French and British Orientalists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made an art form, quite literally, of projecting their own fantasies of the exotic and the sensual onto the women of the Middle East and North Africa. It is important to distinguish between these artistic practices, however, and

between the qualitatively different themes that European painters represented in the Indies. While both groups of artists employed voyeuristic perspectives in their works, the Indies artists much preferred to position their subjects outdoors, and explicitly associated tropical nature with female sensuality. The Orientalists commonly located their erotic fantasies indoors, with deference to the fact that women in the Middle East and North Africa were more often obscured from western view – both by their clothing and through the segregation of public and private spaces – than Indonesian women of the same period were likely to be. In the British and French colonies, this was particularly true of women from elite Muslim households living in urban areas (Alloula 1986; Graham-Brown 1988). Peasant women were depicted rather more freely, in keeping with their more public and instrumental role in the rural economy and with regional differences in sartorial practice, including the fact that rural women were less likely than urban ones to wear Islamic head coverings (Graham-Brown 1988:25, 73–4, 134). It was also peasant women, paid or coerced, who sat for postcard portraits. Upper-class women were beyond the colonial photographer's gaze because they were more likely to live in seclusion, and were less vulnerable to financial pressures (Graham-Brown 1988:54, 60). The harem fancies of Ingres laid bare the interiors of wealthy houses and fetishized barriers behind which 'men reigned supreme, living in a sexual paradise' (Graham-Brown 1988:9). Ingres' painted fantasies were viewed through doors and even keyhole frames, as his famous painting *The Turkish bath* (1862) demonstrates (Figure 5.6). A similar device is employed in Ingres' *Head of the Grand Odalisque* (circa 1814–1818), which is framed within a tondo. The object of such images was to reveal, at least to the mind's eye, the enticing rooms that were in reality concealed from most European men (Benjamin 1997:15). The domestic interior of urban elites, then, was the specific site of the Orientalist fetish north of the tropics.

In the Netherlands Indies, Muslim women were only beginning to cover more parts of their body from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, and the jilbab (headscarf) was rarely seen in photographs until the twentieth century.[20] While covering the body was a convention common to the women of most foreign ethnic communities on Java (certainly among Europeans, Arabs and Chinese), the headscarf was not widely adopted by Indonesian Muslims until after independence. Before then, upper class Javanese women wore variants of traditional and western dress. Women involved in the nationalist campaigns of the late-colonial period were often photographed bare-headed, and even during Soekarno's presidency the ideal dress for Indonesian women did not include the headscarf (Taylor 1997b:99–100, 114, 117, 121). On Hindu Bali, women indeed went about bare-breasted at the onset of Dutch rule, but not for long. Within decades of the final subjugation of the island between

**19** This is true for a small opus of Le Mayeur's works dated 1942. Only a few scholars have even noted Le Mayeur's lack of supplies during the war (Ubbens and Huizing 1995:143; Spruit 1997:96), and even then no mention has been made of his curious adherence, under the circumstances, to idyllic themes.

**20** In the early twentieth century, the issue of women wearing the *jilbab* was still controversial among Muslims in the Netherlands Indies. Some thought it a foreign, Arab custom, and most Indies women went unveiled (Van Dijk 1997:65). Ordinary Javanese Muslim women certainly covered their bodies with long sleeves and high necklines, but veiling was not widespread. Elite Javanese women only wore clothes (including head coverings) associated with the Islamic Middle East on special occasions in the Muslim calendar. Veiling was only widely adopted in Indonesia from the 1980s onwards, as part of the resurgence of Islamism in the region (Friend 2003:600).

**5.6** Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish bath* (1862)

1906 and 1908, European mores had begun to prevail and a clothed torso became respectable attire for Balinese women. The climate of the tropics perhaps encouraged an outdoor existence that was less possible for people of the Middle East and North Africa. Certainly, Indonesian buildings, including mosques, are generally more open to the elements: the *pendopo* (pavilion) structure is widespread throughout the archipelago (O'Neill 1991). European artists in the Indies thus encountered very different landscapes and contexts in which to imagine indigenous women compared to their French and British counterparts in the Orient. In the Indies, it was nature that seemed to conjure erotic opportunity in the minds of European artists, and the tropical landscape rather than the private interior that was most strongly associated with sensuality.

The frequent European observation of public bathing among the indigenous people of the Netherlands Indies confirmed widespread colonial views that native women lived in closer connection with nature and were more overtly sexual in their inclinations than their Dutch counterparts (Savage 1984:171). Late nineteenth-century European thought commonly positioned women closer to nature because of their susceptibility to biological rhythms (Green 1990:147). Certainly, it was widely held in the Indies that

European women suffered from the heat and humidity more than their male counterparts. In the 1930s novel *Rubber*, by Székely-Lulofs (1933:63), a young Dutchwoman's arrival in Sumatra direct from the Netherlands elicits wistful admiration from the men on the plantation, who expect her beauty and vitality to fade eventually in the punishing climate. An older planter reflecting upon the addition of a young Dutch woman to his social circle muses over 'her sparkling joyfulness, none of which was exhausted or paralyzed yet… And he was overcome by a feeling of pity as he thought how quickly that would be extinguished! She would become tired and languid under the pressure of the perpetual heat'. Permanent and uncharacteristic indolence or general apathy, particularly after a Dutch woman's first pregnancy, were further deleterious effects believed to follow from long exposure to the tropics (Stoler 1995:186). Such conceptions of how Dutch women fared in Indies landscapes emphasized their desexualization upon immersion in the tropics. The sexuality of indigenous women, on the other hand, was believed to be heightened by their environment (Hesselink 1992:208). Dutch colonists considered native women in general to be sexually precocious compared to their European counterparts. Colonial medical opinion generally held that native women throughout the tropics, from Southeast Asia to Africa, were physiologically predisposed to hyper-sexuality. In the Indies, Europeans maintained that 'Malays' (a broadly defined category that included the women from diverse locales) had oversized sexual organs and were inclined to promiscuity (Gilman 1985; Vickers 1996:87–8). Practices like polygamy among wealthy Muslims, together with concubinage and prostitution around male enclaves, further offended bourgeois European opinions of sexual morals in the Indies.[21]

## Race, sensuality and the seductive tropical landscape in colonial literature

Like colonial photography, Dutch fiction from the Indies did not consistently couple the seductive qualities of tropical landscapes with an exclusively feminine assocation. Colonial literature tended to position racial difference as the foundation for the sensual reputation of Indies landscapes, even to the point of effacing the rhetorical power of gender. Colonial readers were a small and cosmopolitan audience, scattered throughout the Netherlands, Europe and America. In the Indies themselves, colonial novels reached a relatively small population as there were only around 360,000 readers of Dutch by 1930 (McGlynn 1999:88). However, the material for these books was often grounded in evaluations of 'real' life and moral dilemmas in the colonies, and it is for this reason that they comprise a valuable historical source. Literature also contains insightful material for evaluating the legacy of colonial memory in post-colonial contexts (Protschky 2009). Many Dutch writers who had lived in the Indies continued to write

**21** Taylor 2003:284. On concubinage in the Indies (European men cohabiting with Asian women), see Locher-Scholten 1992; Stoler 2002. On prostitution in the Indies, see Ming 1983; Ingleson 1986; Hesselink 1992.

about their memories and experiences after decolonization, as though this political rupture had never happened. 'Colonial' writing from the Indies therefore persists after 1950, its content remarkably consistent with the novels that were published before Indonesian independence.

Of the necessarily small sample of writers mentioned here – Couperus, Székely-Lulofs and Vincent Mahieu – it is only Székely-Lulofs (interestingly, a female writer) whose perspicacious treatment of colonial sexuality and tropical nature concurs with the image propagated in colonial visual culture of a feminized nature corrupting male sexuality. The other writers, men working a generation either side of Székely-Lulofs (which hints at a broad historical continuity across the early twentieth century), suggested in their work that it was the ungendered portrayal of Indies nature as native, rather than its designation as female *and* native, that was the most powerful notion underpinning cultural associations between nature and colonial sexuality. Landscape as topography recedes into the background in such literary discussions, and nature in its broadest incarnation (as an environment experienced by all the senses) assumes primary importance.

In literature, Europeans were susceptible to the seductiveness of Indies nature at large. Indies landscapes viewed in this light seem to have been racialized – more specifically, construed as native – but remained gender-neutral, in that nature was attributed with seducing European men and women indiscriminately. Not only were European men in danger of being debased by the Asian women whom they allowed into their homes, but European men and women were believed to be corruptible by the landscapes at their doorstep. The threat of seduction, then, was omnipresent, subtle and relentless, and required constant vigilance. In terms of sexual mores, colonial literature from the Netherlands Indies suggests that Europeans seem to have felt conquered by tropical nature. This fear of being overpowered by nature stands in direct contrast to the visions of triumph that routinely figured in colonial postcards and in other photographic images discussed in Chapters 2 and 3: men in their colonial whites astride feats of European engineering like railway lines and steam engines, suspension bridges and irrigation ducts, and meticulous rows of rubber trees within giant, scientifically-managed commercial plantations (worked by Asians with white male figures looming over them). These visual images, which had their counterparts in literature, constructed a view of colonial men penetrating interiors and bringing disparate possessions within a single purview.

Székely-Lulofs' work celebrated the colonial conquest of nature, but also explored the theme of seductive landscapes. Székely-Lulofs' works frequently (and controversially) explored the vagaries of plantation life, often to the detriment of the Europeans whom she described. In the novel *Koelie* (Coolie), set among the rubber

**22** Székely-Lulofs 1932:95. My translation (throughout).
**23** Couperus 1982:74. My translation (throughout).
**24** In the Netherlands Indies, the children of European fathers and Asian mothers were eligible for European-equivalent status, but only if (among other technicalities) they were declared legitimate and registered by the father. Wives, by law, took the nationality of their husbands, so Asian or Indo-European women who married European men also assumed European status (Taylor 1983:156; Gouda 1995:163; Stoler 2002:79–111).

plantations of East Sumatra in the 1920s, a balmy evening becomes the setting for a 'seduction' scene involving a Dutch planter and a young Javanese woman who happens to be an indentured labourer, and is therefore all but powerless to refuse him. On the one hand Donk, the planter, adopts a perversely methodical, even callous approach to his courtship of Karminah, the coolie. He has her brought from the barracks, makes her wait outside his house while he consumes his meal and sips his drink on the veranda, and when he finally calls her in it is only to send her immediately to the bedroom, where she is told to wash and anoint herself with any fragrance that she fancies in order to purge the smell of coconut oil from her hair (Székely-Lulofs 1932:95). Meanwhile, Donk sinks into a pleasant stupour of expectation in which his perception of the dimly lit landscape outside his bungalow plays a determining role in his decision to take a concubine:

> How grand and serene the night was here, too majestic almost for love… for love of the body. Or… precisely for this kind of love that is the same for every higher form of life? Was not perhaps the lowly love of the flesh the only one possible amidst these splendours of the earth?[22]

Székely-Lulofs (1932:95) adds that Donk is 'conscious of little else' at this moment. Instead, '[h]e felt a vague relationship between his physical desire and… the stillness of the tropical night'. In the chilly Netherlands, Donk's musings imply, love and the body are concealed inside and behind closed doors, and complex rules apply as to how men enter into sexual relationships and cohabitation with women. In Sumatra, the seductive landscape authorizes what Donk's constrained natal environment has forbidden him: the 'lowly love of the flesh'. Such aspirations remained possible in the tropics, it is implied, because nature here retained its pre-eminence over culture and love was 'the same for every higher form of life'. Were Donk in a European landscape, Székely-Lulofs implies, his reason and sense of decorum would no doubt prevail. Instead, the thoughtlessness that the author attributes to his actions represents a regression to his simple, savage, natural self in Sumatra's permissive frontier landscapes.

Even more controversial was Couperus's suggestion 30 years earlier in *The hidden force* (1900) that European women were equally susceptible to the seductive qualities of Indies landscapes. Couperus arguably remains one of the best-known authors of Dutch colonial literature. *The hidden force* has attracted frequent scholarly analysis, notably for its treatment of racial themes (Buruma 1996; Pattynama 1998) but also, more recently, for the way in which Couperus (who was homosexual) may have woven musings on sexuality and homosexuality into the text (Aldrich 2003:119–22). A sensual evocation of nature opens the chapter in which Leonie van Oudijck, the Dutch wife of a government official, seduces Addy de Luce, the Indo-European son of local sugar barons. The scene unfolds beneath a 'down of velvet'[23] (that is, nightfall) that obscures the scandalous events. Though relations between Europeans and Indo-Europeans were not necessarily always considered scandalous by colonists – as long as the latter were legitimized as Europeans by marriage or official registration, and European standards of respectability were adhered to[24] – Leonie's affair with Addy represents the last in a series of betrayals of her entire family. Leonie manages to cuckold her husband and her step-son (with whom she is having a quasi-incestuous affair). She also crosses her step-daughter, who has had her own sights set upon Addy. Significantly, later in the novel Otto van Oudijck reflects upon his wife's shocking behaviour and, rather than attribute blame to a fellow European, concludes that her moral laxity must be due to the prolonged effects of exposure to Indies nature. Van Oudijck locates his wife's poor self-control over her bodily urges in the landscapes outside her door – 'the soil of the Indies' (Couperus 1982:172).

In other fictional texts, Indies nature assumed the power to corrupt European sexual mores in the notable absence of a tempting indigenous human presence of either sex. In a short story by Mahieu published in 1955, after the Indies had ceased to exist as a colonial sphere, the author conjured a memory of the powerful sensual allure of a river to a European normally confined to stuffy interiors and respectable

behaviours. Mahieu was a pseudonym that the Indo-European writer and activist Jan Boon adopted when writing for Dutch audiences. Boon's other alias was Tjalie Robinson, a pen name that he used in association with his work to preserve 'Indo' (Indo-European) culture in the Indies and, later, in the Netherlands.[25] Mahieu began publishing his work relatively late in life, after his banishment to the Netherlands in the late 1950s as part of Soekarno's efforts to expunge colonial remnants from the newly independent Indonesia (Nieuwenhuys 1982: xvi; Alisabah 1995:ix). By birth and by choice, then, Mahieu inhabited the ambiguous cultural and temporal space between Asian and European cultures in the Indies, a position that provided him with acute insights into the standards and practices of both groups.

Mahieu's 'Vivere pericolosamente' (Living dangerously) illustrates a case of sexual corruption through submersion in an Indies landscape; in this instance, the Ciliwung River that flows through Batavia. The story subverts the usual colonial association between water and eroticism by revolving around a male European character (rather than a female native) and begins with the tantalizing question 'How many people lead double lives?' (Mahieu 1995:127). Mahieu suggests that even the most outwardly respectable Europeans in the Indies did, often because they had succumbed to the sensual attractions of nature. In the Batavia that Mahieu's protagonist, a Dutch official named Barkey, inhabits, the Ciliwung River is associated with all that is not Dutch. To him it appears as 'the symbol of everything in the Indies that was dirty and vulgar' (Mahieu 1995:129). Barkey, like his European neighbours, lives on a verge that overlooks the river and never ventures down to its banks – until one hot afternoon, when the rest of European Batavia has settled down within relatively cool interiors for the siesta, and Barkey finds himself unable to sleep. Mahieu mischievously describes to his readers the pedestrian context of Barkey's life up to this moment: his dull office job, his 'stout pleasant wife', whom he affectionately names his 'Pompelmoesje' 'since she was so fat'.[26] Barkey is comfortable with these passionless roles, and proud of the respect that he commands in them. And yet, the river abruptly entices him away from his humdrum seclusion: 'He saw a narrow strip of *kali* [river]. Brown, powerful, irresistable, exciting, colossal. Behind him, he felt the quiet dead things of his home' (Mahieu 1995:142).

Gingerly at first and then with increasing abandon Barkey discovers, to his surprise, the sensual pleasures of the grubby river. Its refreshing coolness and perpetual motion provide a rousing alternative to his monotonous, sedentary existence. He surrenders to its swarming life, brimming with fish, plants and refuse, the 'primitive disorderliness of broken crockery and wild growth' (Mahieu 1995:130) that cluster in its shallows, subverting the domestic tidiness that to which he is accustomed. The river's playful meandering seems to give him license to frolick 'like a child' (Mahieu 1995:130) rather than adhere to the dignified adult role that he has cultivated: 'Playing in the *kali* had all the sweetness of what was forbidden and the charm of what was completely private. What office manager swam in the *kali*? Not even a clerk third-class' (Mahieu 1995:131). Barkey also relishes the renewed awareness of his own physicality, taking pride in the strengthening of his body through daily exercise. His voluntary submersion beneath the Ciliwung's muddy surface becomes a metaphor for his growing disdain for distinctions he once relied upon: 'The residents of the *kampong* [village] further up the river had become accustomed to the sight of that queer swimming *Blanda* [Dutchman]… [He] had become a phenomenon of the [river], like the other people bathing in it, like the floating filth, carcasses, and turds.'[27]

Predictably, perhaps, disaster strikes. While on expedition one day, Barkey's outer layer of underwear is tugged free by the river and he is left with only a flimsy remnant of clothing covering his nakedness. He makes for the nearest house on the bank in the hope that some sympathetic servant will run home and fetch him his clothes before his wife awakes and finds him missing. No such luck befalls him. Barkey's first encounter is with Mevrouw Aubrey, a cheeky Dutch widow with a 'famous naughty laugh' and sparkling eyes (Mahieu 1995:135). She teases Barkey about his transparent underpants, torments

him by making him wait before sending for his clothes, and befuddles him with a glass of cognac so that he won't 'catch cold' from the river (Mahieu 1995:137). During his agonizing wait in the widow's bathroom, Barkey catches a glimpes of his newly-acquired, strapping physique in her mirror. Then he notices her enticing lingerie (a jarring contrast to the practical undergarments belonging to his wife), and begins to indulge in private reveries about his flirtatious saviour (Mahieu 1995:138). When finally he ventures out onto Aubrey's veranda to collect his clothes, he finds her draped suggestively on the divan. The last vestiges of his resolve dissipate: 'He was afraid, and he felt attracted to the object of his fear. There was in her something like swimming in the [river].' (Mahieu 1995:141.) Barkey's infidelity is brief and, Mahieu leads us to believe, isolated; but the damage is done, and our (anti-)hero knows it. Upon returning to his house, Barkey seals the back exit leading down to the river, shutting the profligate landscape out forever and confining himself once again to his respectable bourgeois domesticity.

Mahieu's clever and amusing narrative explicitly links the sensual qualities of Indies nature with the sexual transgression of two Europeans. The female party, Mevrouw Aubrey, is notably unruffled by the moral implications of her encounter. Indeed, her seduction of Barkey is a metaphor for the amoral power of Indies landscapes, which encourage indulgence and the entertainment of sensual, if fleeting, pleasures. In Mahieu's tale there is no indigenous mediation in Barkey's demise other than nature itself which, significantly, is imbued with the seductive qualities that are usually attributed to promiscuous native women or lascivious indigenous men.

We must therefore add nature and landscape to the body and the home as spaces where race, gender and the production of European desires were negotiated. Indeed, natural landscapes contained both of these contested sites, unifying bodies and domestic spaces within a larger, specifically Indies, tropical context.

## Conclusions

In the late-colonial Netherlands Indies it was in visual culture that the tropics were most strongly associated with gender: more particularly, with Asian feminity and eroticism, and most obviously in colonial paintings. However, some ambiguity over the importance of gender in organizing European notions of tropical sensuality is evident in the homoerotic photographs that were taken on Bali in the 1920s and 1930s. Here, the (almost) invisible European conqueror of the tropics who lurked behind the lens remained male, but his voyeuristic energies were as likely to be homosexual as heterosexual. Further, the equivocal colonial interest in male as well as female Asian bodies laid bare in lush surroundings suggests the overarching importance of race in sensualizing tropical nature. In the nineteenth century it had

**25** Alisabah 1995:viii, ix. It was Mahieu who established the Indo journal *Tong-Tong*.

**26** Mahieu 1995:128. A 'pompelmoesje' is a round, sweet, juicy fruit, like an apple.

**27** Mahieu 1995:132. The 'other people' swimming people in the river are intimated to be Indonesians.

been native women who overwhelmingly dominated visual associations between landscape and erotic opportunity. This trope persisted most strongly in painting, the most conservative of Indies art forms. By the early twentieth century, the broad shift toward racial segregation in the Indies was making itself most evident in literature, where dissenting opinions were more readily expressed than in painting or photography. In literature, a nature experienced – felt and smelt – evoked more complex associations that arguably only writing could do justice to, hence the literary theme of an indigenous, sensual (ungendered) tropics that threatened to deracinate European interlopers. Here the politics of violence that underscored colonial imagery of women and nature was bilateral. Colonists might try to possess their desired objects (women, landscape) through photography or painting, but in writing colonists sometimes confessed to feeling conquered (seduced, defiled) by nature. 'The tropics' thus had a dangerous resonance outside the voyeuristic bounds of visual culture. In print, the sensual experience of nature was, so to speak, black and white: it emphasized the opposition between European and Native space, with gender figuring as a secondary complication, if at all.

It would seem that, particularly in late-colonial writing and to some extent also in photography on Bali, the eroticization of native women and their association with Indies landscapes (McClintock's 'porno-tropics') was only one component of the more general sensualization of nature in the colonial imagination. The 'porno-tropics' might perhaps be better understood as a conceptual landscape that gained currency in certain colonized places at particular historical moments, rather than as a set of associations that held true across the tropics and for all (imperial) time. In the Netherlands Indies, the late-colonial shift away from picturing landscapes as gendered and tamed toward portraying nature as racialized and dangerous, even as Dutch power was in its final stages of expansion, had its broader counterpart in official attempts to police sexual relations between Asians and Europeans and consolidate colonial control at a time when indigenous nationalism and regional revolt were posing a threat to the empire. Class played an historically important part in determining which Asians were most vulnerable to colonial intrusions. The chastity and moral dignity of upper class Javanese women was preserved in colonial images, whereas lower class native women were fair game for probing cameras and fantasizing painters. To colonial image-makers erotic opportunities were captured with impunity, since no apparent violation of private spaces was necessary: native women bathed outdoors, in public, and made their bodies available to the common viewer. In photography especially, the fallacy of this belief was frequently laid bare in acts of subtle defiance against scopic invasion. It was this candid indigenous resistance against objectification, captured in the very moments in which Europeans sought to forge an association between nature and native sexuality, that distinguished Dutch colonial art from its Orientalist counterparts.

# Landscape, visual culture and colonial history

Two major themes, which are connected to historical changes across the colonial period, organize the diversity and contradictions within colonial images of landscape in Indies visual culture. The first theme, examined in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this book and reiterated in the following section, concerns the claim for territorial and political sovereignty that is represented in many colonial images of Indies landscapes. The association between landscape art and colonial sovereignty was significant to fostering a European presence in the Indies throughout the colonial period, from the collapse of the VOC and its replacement with a modern colonial state in the early ninetenth century, to the expansionary campaigns that proliferated between 1870 and 1942. The other theme, which was examined in Chapters 4 and 5 and is reviewed in the second section of this chapter, concerns the objects of fixation and fantasy that directed the particular interests of colonial landscape artists. The acceleration of Dutch expansion throughout the Indies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the increase in anti-colonial opposition to Dutch rule and the vulnerability of Dutch claims to sovereignty in this context provide insights into the ideals and anxieties that were invested in images of the tropics.

## Landscape and colonial sovereignty

A visual association between landscape and sovereignty underpinned Dutch claims to legitimate rule over the Indies throughout the colonial period. This connection was forged in the early nineteenth century during an era of turbulent change for the Netherlands, in which the country gained a monarchy and the Indies became a Crown colony. The same colony became one of the last vestiges of the Netherlands' international power and prestige: the VOC had been dissolved in 1799, and most of the other colonies the Company had accrued over two centuries of conquest were permanently lost to the British. The redistribution of colonial power in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars thus threatened to undermine historic Dutch claims to colonial status and sever its bonds to overseas territories. Dutch images of Indies landscapes in the early nineteenth century reasserted a continuous historical claim to Indies territory through evoking a pedigree that extended back to a celebrated age. In revisiting and representing coastal settlements that had first been conquered by the VOC in the seventeenth century, colonial painters, draftspeople and, later, photographers, renewed and consolidated 'traditional' Dutch claims to Indies territory. In referencing the conventions of cartography, and in evoking the aesthetic traditions of the Golden Age – most notably in photographic experiments with painterly ways of seeing, such as still life – Dutch artists bridged the gap between an uncertain colonial future and a glorious mercantile past. Recourse to venerable visual and historical traditions eased the Netherlands' transition from a dominion in the Kingdom of France to an independent monarchy, and the Indies' evolution from one of many Company possessions to the jewel in the colonial Crown.[1] The historicizing

tendency of Dutch colonial landscape art thus restored some of the diminished prestige of the Netherlands as a colonial power in Europe. Visual images of subjugated and settled Indies landscapes supported further expansion in the late-colonial period, normalizing Dutch claims for additional territory. Official calls for recalcitrant rulers like the Sultan of Aceh to 'recognize' Dutch sovereignty in Sumatra, for example, rested upon 'historic' Dutch assertions to regional influence.[2]

Images of conquered Indies landscapes also bolstered moral claims to territory through promoting the munificence of Dutch colonial rule. Paintings of fertile valleys and tranquil smallholdings, and photographs of landscapes 'improved' by colonial intervention, both reinforced the legitimacy of Dutch colonial rule. Views of landscapes that had been untouched by colonialism precluded the grounds for anti-colonial resistance: if there was no evidence of regime change in the landscape, how could colonial expansion stimulate conflict? The moral narrative of colonial landscape art thus resolves an apparent contradiction generated by differentiated images of the tropics in painting and photography. The undetectability of colonial rule in Indies landscapes was a long-standing mythology in official Dutch discourse, one that gained its most perfect visual expression in *mooi Indië* views of idyllic rural landscapes. Such images gave visual substance to policies like 'indirect rule', the system of governance pursued on Java. Through eliding their administrative presence by recourse to a fictive invisiblity, the Dutch sought to remove themselves from responsibility and blame for exploitation and corruption by deflecting failures to Native elites. The poorly-realized strategy of 'association' between indigenous and colonial rulers that was tabled for newly acquired territories in the late nineteenth century might be relegated to the same motive. Colonial aims to 'restore' various indigenous traditions under the rubric of *adat* (custom) throughout the Indies, and administrative efforts to codify Hindu castes on Bali, are among some of the better-known examples of how, in attempting to secure stasis, the colonial state in fact implemented radical change. The colonial interventions that were recognized, such as the Ethical Policy, were those proclaimed to be for the greater good. The rhetoric of benevolent intervention was thus crucial to the maintenance of colonial legitimacy. This gained its clearest visual expression in images of progress, improvement and the establishment of order.

The Ethical Policy was engineered under considerable political pressure in the wake of mounting liberal critiques of colonial exploitation in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its reforms were also accompanied by the rising challenge of Indonesian nationalism in the early decades of the twentieth century. Throughout the colonial period, Dutch expansion – both in agricultural and military terms – evinced Indonesian resistance and Dutch ethical

**1** Malacca (Melaka) remained a Dutch colony until the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824; thereafter it was ceded to the British. Suriname (in South America) and the Netherlands Antilles (in the West Indies) also remained Dutch colonies.

**2** Van Weringh 2001. Note that such assertions also rested on Dutch interpretations of agreements with other colonial powers, such as the 1824 Anglo-Dutch Treaty, which gave the Dutch sovereignty over Sumatra while leaving the Malay Peninsula to the British.

qualms. Erasing these challenges from the visual record, if not from historical memory, was a crucial step toward continually renewing the legitimacy of Dutch rule in the Indies and clearing moral space for further conquest. Thus, the image of a fertile, tranquil countryside governed quietly and from afar by a benevolent force was central to Dutch claims to sovereignty over Indies landscapes.

It is the repetition on this theme of non-intervention, together with the adherence to European conventions for representing the natural environment, that makes colonial images of Indies landscapes colonial, and

**6.1** Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Independence* (31 December 1949)

that binds them to a broader visual culture common to many imperial contexts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The direct, practical involvement of many Indies artists in colonial expansion; the peaceful scenes they preferred and the conflicts they chose to omit; and the cultural context that normalized (indeed, promoted) imperialism is what makes Dutch images of the tropics different from yet indelibly connected to the European landscape tradition. Indeed, it is these qualities of Indies landscape art that resonate with colonial visual cultures elsewhere. Much of the art produced in British colonies – though scattered widely across the globe, from the Caribbean and North America to India and even Australia – is united by the same approach to landscape: one that clears an imaginative space for colonial expansion, eliding the coercion, exploitation and displacement that was characteristic of that expansion in the first instance.

## Style and substance, fixation and fantasy

In 1819, when Joseph Paelinck finished his portrait showing the Netherlands' first monarch, King Willem I, symbolically asserting his dominion over Java with the gesture of a hand toward a map (Figure 1.1), the territorial claim was commemorated in oil dabbed on canvas by hand. On 31 December 1949, the revolutionary success of the Indonesian independence movement was eloquently captured in a photograph that showed Javanese men carrying portraits of former Dutch governors-general out of the Istana Bogor (Presidential Palace) (Figure 6.1). In the background, similarly removed paintings are stacked against the veranda of the palace. In the interim, advances in printing processes and the invention of the daguerreotype in the mid-nineteenth century had revolutionized the ways in which images of the Indies were made and seen by colonial artists and audiences. Much more than any other visual medium, it was photographs that tended to portray landscapes that celebrated colonial modernity and expansion. Photographers depicted the infrastructure that made the Indies traversible for colonists; revealed the industrial processes that regulated plantations and factories and therefore generated colonial wealth; and celebrated the imposition of agricultural and horticultural order on tropical landscapes. As both a technology of rule and a way of seeing, colonial photography generated narratives of expansion that were accessible to wide audiences, official and popular, in public and private venues, both in the Indies and in Europe.

Colonial painting produced quite different visions of Indies landscapes. It was here that the *mooi Indië* view was perfected and sustained with remarkable stylistic and thematic consistency over almost 150 years of colonial rule. Scholars have frequently suggested that the uniformity across *mooi Indië* paintings can partly be explained by a lack of demand for novelty and change. The

**3** Europeans who took an interest in Indonesian arts and culture formed a minority in Indies colonial society. The Bali artists of the 1920s and 1930s were the exception that proved the rule (Van Brakel 2004:115).

**4** Peluso 1991; Boomgaard 1992, 1997, 1999, 2005; Jepson and Whittaker 2002; Henley and Osseweijer 2005.

**5** See, for example, Julie Berger Hochstrasser's analysis (2007:251–63) of commodity fetishism and the symbolic anthropology of seventeenth century Dutch still life painting. See also Anne McClintock's examination (1995:75–180) of the fetishization of dirt and the sexualization of race in nineteenth-century Britain through an analysis of Arthur J. Munby's photographs of his maid (and wife), Hannah Cullwick.

narrow tastes and interests of colonial society, its conservatism, its emphasis on money and status, its neglect of literature and the arts, and its hostility to cultural innovation fostered an environment in which the same old, non-confrontational and comfortingly familiar views of *mooi* (beautiful) landscapes recurred (Van Brakel 1999:103). Further, for most of the colonial period, painters lacked the conceptual and technical skills to initiate new ways of seeing and representing the Indies environment. Many nineteenth-century Indies painters were self-taught and generally removed from the contemporary art world abroad. Recent research on Dutch artists in Europe suggests that, in the Netherlands, at least until the late nineteenth century, painters were not terribly receptive to foreign innovation and experimentation either. '[T]he average Dutch painter', one art historian has observed, 'spent the entire nineteenth century in his own country, content to limit his exotic excursions to a trip along the Rhine' (De Leeuw 1997:25). This book has shown that, with few exceptions, even the more worldly, professionally-trained painters of the late-colonial period rarely experimented with modernist styles. Nor was their work noticeably influenced by local art forms, even though many took an avid interest in and collected local Indonesian art.[3] Across the colonial period, well into the twentieth century, the naturalist-realist style of painting that found official favour and was familiar to mainstream European audiences therefore dominated Dutch visual culture.

The consistent thematic focus of colonial landscape painting is even more distinctive than the style in which these images were executed. The stereotypical elements of the *mooi Indië* landscape – palm trees, volcanic mountain ranges, bucolic valleys dotted with picturesque villages – may well have been readily visible to residents and travellers in the Indies, and thus represented a facet of historical truth. However, the views produced by such paintings in large numbers across the duration of the colonial period provide only a very small and narrow window into Indonesia's past, one that emphasizes times of stasis, peace and prosperity, and that in many instances removes a colonial presence from the landscape altogether. By contrast, the substantial literature on conservation regulation in the Netherlands Indies demonstrates that the Dutch were deeply concerned about the impact of colonial expansion and exploitation of the tropical environment well before the nineteenth century. Issues like sustainable silviculture, erosion and declining soil fertility, both on commercial plantations and for indigenous smallholders, continued to preoccupy scientists and officials until the very end of the colonial period.[4] In addition, this book has demonstrated how, from the 1830s until the 1940s, colonial expansion frequently employed violence and attracted virulent Indonesian opposition. The implausibility of maintaining an unchallenged image of peaceful tropical landscapes must therefore have been a daily realization for many colonists in the Indies, including painters. Indeed, for most of the nineteenth century, colonial painters were professionally immersed in converting fields and forests to plantations, or in administering the districts where commercial crops were produced.

The disjunction between fantasy and reality in colonial landscape painting, and the complicity of painters and colonial audiences in reproducing it, is clear. The repetition on this theme, the painterly return to *mooi Indië* views ad nauseum and to the exclusion of a wider variety of landscapes, points to much more than a simple aesthetic preference in colonial visual culture. It suggests fixation and fetish, concepts that have been used convincingly by anthropologists and cultural historians to explain recurring themes and glaring ommissions in colonial visual cultures.[5] Most analyses in this vein examine how objects become the focus of displaced colonial fears and fantasies, a line of reasoning that cannot be sustained here. However, the process of diverting attention away from a pressing reality and towards an alternative focus that serves to stand in for and allay the original concern is a useful concept for understanding *mooi Indië* paintings. In such images, the gaze of colonial audiences was constantly averted from the reality of conquest, conflict, violence, exploitation and coercion onto an altogether more attractive and uncomplicated prospect. It was the fixity of this colonial gaze, and its blindness to alternate realities, that politicized Indonesian painters in the early twentieth century and

that polarized Indonesian artists long after the Dutch had been expelled from power.

Dutch fears of losing power through expulsion from or immersion in the Indies animated particular kinds of fixations in late-colonial landscape art. The disproportionate focus in colonial visual culture upon pre-Islamic antiquities on Java and Hindu practice on Bali reveals a European gaze steadily fixed on ideals instead of less palatable realities, including Islamic resistance to violent imperial expansion and the development of nationalist, Indonesian alternatives to Dutch colonial rule. European concerns over assimilation with the subalterns of the Indies informed particular fetishes in late-colonial visual and literary culture, notably the association between sexual opportunity and tropical nature. For Europeans in the late-colonial period, the climatic and environmental differences between the equator and the northern hemisphere were causally linked to essential social, moral and cultural differences between the populations these two regions sustained. 'Whether represented positively (as in fantasies of the tropical sublime) or negatively (as a pathological space of degeneration), tropicality has frequently served as a foil to temperate nature, to all that is modest, civilised, cultivated.' (Driver and Martins 2005:3.) In nineteenth-century official and literary culture, such notions were expressed in increasingly racial terms. Images of sensual, sexualized Indies landscapes framed ways of seeing tropical nature that permitted departures from European mores. The same view into alternate moral and sexual possibilities generated deep colonial anxieties over the degree to which human morphology and culture were subject to environment, and thus about the very 'nature' of race and morality. If nature was capable of transforming culture, then the impulse of facing the seductions of the tropics had to be averted by cultivating a gaze that looked to Europe for more 'natural' affiliations, to prevent the loss of European identities and to preserve the social distinctions upon which colonial rule depended. Colonial oscillations between desire for and repulsion against assimilation into Indies landscapes were played out in the tensions between visual culture (which promoted voyeurism) and literary culture (which laid bare the moral consequences of acclimatization). A receeding view of Netherlandish landscapes and bourgeois European values, and a looming uncertainty about the longevity of Dutch rule in the Indies, is the vision that haunts the fringes of late-colonial images of the tropics.

## Epilogue: Colonial landscape art in post-colonial visual culture

The late twentieth century witnessed a revival of interest in colonial art from Indonesia in the auction houses of Indonesia, Singapore and the Netherlands, where interest continues to this day (albeit periodically abated by economic downturns).[6] The market for colonial art from the former Netherlands Indies may very well be stronger now than it was in the nineteenth or even the early twentieth century. Contemporary interest in colonial images of the Indies has no doubt been stimulated by the increasing number of high-quality reproductions of paintings and photographs that are now available in the form of published art anthologies, exhibition catalogues and reprinted albums.[7] What was once a trickle of such publications in the decades following Indonesia's independence has since become a stream, encouraged by the staging of special and permanent exhibitions on colonial art and society in Dutch and Southeast Asian museums. Colonial art from the Indies has thus re-entered post-colonial visual culture, not just in Europe and Southeast Asia, but also in the international arena that is enabled by the internet.

Post-colonial economic development and rising middle class wealth (not to mention upper class consumption) in former colonies has undoubtedly stimulated the purchase of colonial art in Southeast Asia. In this sense, Southeast Asian countries are following similar trends to those that encouraged interest in Orientalist art among wealthy Arab buyers from the mid-1970s onward.[8] Perhaps urbanization and industrialization in Indonesia also have a part to play in encouraging contemporary demand for colonial art. Paintings and photographs of nineteenth-century Indonesia serve as valuable primary sources in that they show, in many instances, historic landscapes that are now buried under towns, cities

and other modern developments. Indeed, images of rural landscapes unmarred by poverty, pollution and unrest may appeal to city-dwellers seeking a more tranquil image of Indonesia's history than is frequently debated by journalists, politicians and public intellectuals. Nostalgia for a rural past certainly drives contemporary tourism. Throughout Southeast Asia, the same mountain resorts that were once the exclusive province of white colonists are now popular holiday destinations for the urban middle classes seeking a retreat in the countryside (Freeman 1999:31; Peleggi 2005). Colonial paintings thus appeal to a variety of contemporary sentiments, some of which are framed by economic growth and increased social mobility, and others that may be enabled by cultural shifts in memories and perceptions of the colonial past. Indeed, the passage of time has led to a degree of détente between Southeast Asian countries and their former colonizers, one that has often been matched, in the case of Indonesia and the Netherlands at least, with renewed economic and diplomatic ties.[9]

In the decades immediately following the end of the Pacific War and the gaining of Indonesia's independence from Dutch rule, colonial images of the former Netherlands Indies were fraught with controversy. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Netherlands and Indonesia seemed set upon different trajectories of historical remembrance. In the Netherlands, historical reflections on the Indies circulated publicly, though in a limited fashion, immediately following decolonization. (Indeed, scholars of Dutch colonial literature have observed that nostalgia for *tempo doeloe*, 'the good old days', was already evident in Dutch colonial fiction during the late nineteenth century.)[10] Images of the colonial past continued to circulate in the post-war Netherlands. Annotated albums of colonial photographs collected by Rob Nieuwenhuys were published between 1961 and 1988. As mentioned in the Introduction, the earliest anthology of colonial paintings had been published by De Loos-Haaxman in 1941, shortly before the Japanese occupation of the Indies and the beginning of the end of Dutch colonial rule. Further works followed in subsequent decades.[11] A certain diffidence characterized early reflections on the colonial period, one often marked, especially in Dutch literature, by a sense of bitterness and loss (Beekman 1988, 1996). This ambivalence was heightened in the immediate post-war decades by considerable domestic hostility in the Netherlands toward those Dutch, Indonesians and Indo-Europeans who had emigrated from the former Indies, often in search of an 'imagined homeland' that did not seem to exist.[12]

In Indonesia during the same period, the reign of the country's first president, Soekarno, precipitated an official purge of colonial vestiges from national culture, politics and the economy. Just as in the Netherlands, ambivalence characterized post-war reconstruction in Indonesia. Art, like other spheres of cultural life, was politicized

**6** Ankerman 1996:35; Van Brakel 2004:7; Teotico 2008.

**7** See the Bibliography for a list of such publications.

**8** Benjamin (1997:35–7) notes that many of these buyers were from countries that had never been formally colonized. Interestingly, South Asian art buyers appear to be far less enthusiastic about British art from the colonial period (Norman 1992; Mahapatra 2005).

**9** In December 2006, an agreement of co-operation was entered into by the governments of the Netherlands and Indonesia to formalize and expand on joint security, development, economic and cultural ventures.

**10** 'Each age has its own *tempo doeloe*... *Tempo doeloe* was in 1880, for the novelist and journalist P.A. Daum, the time of 1840; for another Indies writer like E. du Perron in 1940, it was the time of 1880' (Nieuwenhuys 1981:9, my translation). Beekman (1999:4) reached a similar conclusion in his 'Introduction' to the English translation of P.A. Daum's *Ups and downs of life in the Indies* (first published 1890).

**11** Niewenhuys' photographic anthologies, in order of publication, are: *Tempo doeloe* (1961); *Baren en oudgasten* (1981); *Komen en blijven* (1982); *Met vreemde ogen* (1988). See the Bibliography for the works of J. de Loos-Haaxman and J. Terwen-de Loos.

in Soekarno's Republic. Debates raged over what Indonesian art should look like. In 1963, an organization known as Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA, The People's Cultural Council) succeeded in convincing the President that modernist painters ought to be outlawed as 'imperial artists'. Many such painters had been affiliated with the Bandung School, who were trained by Dutchmen with an interest in abstract and expressionist art.[13] Ironically, government support for banning 'imperialist' styles of painting that were associated with the West sometimes resulted in a reification of the same kinds of images that had been celebrated during the colonial period and were now preferred by the Indonesian establishment – headed by Soekarno himself, who was an avid art collector. The president's private collection, proudly displayed for distinguished international guests to view in the Istana Bogor – once the Governor-Generals' palace – suggested an uncertain break with the colonial past in Indonesian visual culture. Soekarno's replacement of governor-general portraits with paintings of Indonesian war veterans, sundry likenesses of himself and, more notoriously, a large number of female Indonesian nudes, provides the clearest evidence of new themes dominating Indonesian art in the post-colonial period (Protschky 2007). However, the revolutionary regime change was only partly reflected in Soekarno's art collection. Among the works were many landscape paintings by Indonesian artists that could easily have been mistaken for *mooi Indië* views. Indeed, some of them were executed by colonial artists, and therefore were *mooi Indië* scenes (Protschky 2007). Soekarno collected works by several of the landscape painters mentioned throughout this book, including Dezentjé, Bonnet, Hofker and Le Mayeur.[14] In 1979, during President Soeharto's reign, an exhibition of Soekarno's collection was held in Jakarta, and though many of the attendees did not necessarily regard the paintings as 'beautiful', the vast majority did report a sense of pride and admiration in viewing the collection.[15] The legacy of colonial art in Indonesian visual culture thus persisted even into the politically volatile post-war period.

While colonial paintings and photographs are now likely to be viewed more critically than the time in which they were originally produced, their continual circulation today reinforces a shared heritage between the Netherlands and Indonesia, one that rests upon a colonial past and therefore demands careful historical contextualization. That has been the purpose of this book. The sheer number and diversity of images of the tropics militates against the likelihood that a single, monolithic colonial discourse of expansion and exploitation dominated Dutch colonial visual culture. Indeed, this book has examined the contradictions and tensions revealed in colonial images of Indies landscapes. Some of these images celebrated colonial expansion and modernity through the building of infrastructure and the establishment of commercial plantations.

**12** The phrase 'imagined homeland' comes from Willems 2003:39. See also Meijer 1995; Houben 1997; Goss 2000; Van Amersfoort and Van Niekerk 2006.

**13** Holt 1967; Sidharta 1999:10, 15–7. The dominance of LEKRA, which was affiliated with the Communist party, ended with the 1965 coup attempt.

**14** Other western artists collected by Soekarno included Charles Sayers, Theo Meier, C.L. Dake Jr, F. Holleman, A. Sonnega, and Miguel Covarrubias (*Paintings and statues* 1964). On Soekarno's interest in Le Mayeur's painting, as well as the artist's favourite model, Ni Pollok (also his wife), see Ni Pollok 1976.

**15** The exhibition took place in Jakarta in August 1979, ran for 15 days, and attracted an audience of 147,713 visitors. An opinion poll conducted at the exhibition found that 8% of a sample of 550 respondents regarded the collection as 'beautiful' but that, perhaps more intriguingly, almost 80% felt pride or admiration upon viewing the works (Labrousse 1993:177, 189)

Other images promoted tradition and stasis through omitting colonial intervention from Indies landscapes. Many European artists reinforced the exoticism of the Indies in their work, exploring the mystical appeal of its antiquities and religious practices, or the erotic opportunities to be located in its seductive landscapes. Such visions of the tropics were the source of both fear and fantasy in European discourses on nature and civilization in the Indies. The equatorial environment harboured soils that anchored the seeds of European anxiety about the long-term viability of colonial rule in the Indies.

From the late nineteenth century onward, in the context of accelerated and aggressive colonial expansion and virulent anti-colonial resistance, these seeds flourished to bear new fruit in colonial images of landscape and nature in the Indies.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY


Aa, A.J. van der
1845–57 *Nederlands Oost-Indië of beschrijving der Nederlandsche bezittingen in Oost-Indië*. Amsterdam: Schleijer, Breda: Broese. Two vols.

Abeyasekere, Susan
1987 *Jakarta; A history*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Adams, Ann Jensen
1994 'Competing communities in the "great bog of Europe"; Identity and seventeenth century Dutch landscape painting', in: W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and power*, pp. 35–76. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Adams, Roy
1990 *Borobudur in photographs; Past and present*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Alatas, Syed Hussein
1977 *The myth of the lazy native; A study of the image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th century and its function in the ideology of colonial capitalism*. London: Cass.

Aldrich, Robert
2003 *Homosexuality and colonialism*. London/New York: Routledge.
2005 *Vestiges of the colonial empire in France; Monuments, museums and colonial memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alisabah, Margaret M.
1995 'Introduction; Jan Boon, Tjalie Robinson, Vincent Mahieu', in: Vincent Mahieu, *The hunt for the heart; Selected tales from the Dutch East Indies*, pp. 126–42. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [Oxford in Asia Paperbacks.]

Alloula, Malek
1986 *The colonial harem*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. [Theory and History of Literature 21.]

Almeida, Hermione de and George H. Gilpin (eds)
2005 *Indian renaissance; British Romantic art and the prospect of India*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Alpers, Svetlana
1983 *The art of describing; Dutch art in the seventeenth century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Amersfoort, Hans van and Mies van Niekerk
2006 'Immigration as a colonial inheritance; Post-colonial immigrants in the Netherlands, 1945–2002', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32-3:323–46.

Andaya, Leonard Y.
1993 *The world of Maluku; Eastern Indonesia in the early modern period*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Anderson, Benedict
1993 *Imagined communities; Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London/New York: Verso. [First published 1985.]

Ankerman, Karel
1996 'The Dutch penetrate the region; Growing Indonesian demand for colonial period art', *The Art Newspaper* 6-62:35.

Arnold, David
1996 'Inventing tropicality', in: David Arnold, *The problem of nature; Environment, culture and European expansion*, pp. 141–69. Oxford: Blackwell. [New Perspectives of the Past.]
1998 'India's place in the tropical world, 1770–1930', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26:1–21.
2000 '"Illusory riches"; Representations of the tropical world, 1840–1950', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 21-1:6–18.
2005 'Envisioning the tropics; Joseph Hookes in India and the Himalayas, 1848–1850', in: Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (eds), *Tropical visions in an age of empire*, pp. 137–55. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
2005 *The tropics and the traveling gaze; India, landscape, and science 1800–1856*. Delhi: Permanent Black. [Nature, Culture, Conservation Series.]

Asnan, Gusti
2002 'Transportation on the west coast of Sumatra in the nineteenth century', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 158:727–41.
Bachtiar, Harsja W.
1976 'Raden Saleh; Aristocrat, painter, and scientist', *Indonesian Journal of Cultural Studies* 6-3:3–79.
Bainbridge, Simon
2005 'Napoleon and European Romanticism', in: Michael Ferber (ed.), *A companion to European Romanticism*, pp. 450–66. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Barringer, Timothy, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (eds)
2007 *Art and the British empire*. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press.
Barwegen, Martine
2004 'Browsing in livestock history; Large ruminants and the environment in Java, 1850–2000', in: Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds), *Smallholders and stockbreeders; History of foodcrop and livestock farming in Southeast Asia*, pp. 283–305. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 218.]
Bastin, John and Bea Brommer
1979 *Nineteenth century prints and illustrated books of Indonesia; With particular reference to the print collection of the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam: A descriptive bibliography*. Utrecht: Spectrum.
Baudrillard, Jean
1994 'The system of collecting', in: John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds), *The cultures of collecting; From Elvis to antiques – why do we collect things?*, pp. 7–24. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
Beekman, E.M.
1982 'Dutch colonial literature; Romanticism in the tropics', *Indonesia* 34:17–39.
1988 *Fugitive dreams; An anthology of Dutch colonial literature*. Amherst: University of Massachussetts Press.
1996 'Dekker/Multatuli (1820–1887); The dialogic truth from the tropics', in: E.M. Beekman, *Troubled pleasures; Dutch colonial literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950*, pp. 202–53. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1996 'Junghuhn's perception of Javanese nature', *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 17-1/2:135–45.
1996 *Troubled pleasures; Dutch colonial literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1999 'Introduction; Rumphius' life and work', in: E.M. Beekman (ed.), *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet by Georgius Everhardus Rumphius*, pp. xxxv–cxii. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
1999 'Introduction', in: P.A. Daum, *Ups and downs of life in the Indies*, pp. 1–47. Singapore: Periplus.
Beinart, William and Lotte Hughes
2007 'Rubber and the environment in Malaysia', in: William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, pp. 231–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series.]
Benjamin, Roger
1997 'The Oriental mirage', in: Roger Benjamin (ed.), *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee*, pp. 7–31. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales.
1997 'Post-colonial taste; Non-western markets for Orientalist art', in: Roger Benjamin (ed.), *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee*, pp. 32–40. Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales.
Black, Jeremy
1997 *Maps and history; Constructing images of the past*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
Bloembergen, Marieke
2006 *Colonial spectacles; The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the world exhibitions, 1880–1931*. Singapore: Singapore University Press. [Originally published as *Koloniale inspiratie; Frankrijk, Nederland, Indië en de wereldtentoonstellingen 1880–1931*, Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2004.]
Bloom, John
1991 'Henri Cartier-Bresson; Primacy of the Other over facts', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 107–15. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
1991 'Woodbury and Page; Photographers of the old order', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 29–35. San Francisco: Friends of Photography.
Blume, C.L.
1835–49 *Rumphia, sive commentationes botanicae, imprimis de plantis Indiae Orientalis, tum penitus incognitis, tum quae in libris Rheedii, Rumphii, Roxburghii, Wallichii, aliorum recensentur*. Amstelodami: Sulpke. Two vols.
Bonyhady, Tim
2000 *The colonial earth*. Carlton South: Miegunyah Press.
Boom, Mattie
2005 'Fotografie in de Sumatra-albums van Paul Sandel', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 3:243–66.
Boomgaard, Peter
1989 *Children of the colonial state; Population growth and economic development in Java, 1795–1880*. Amsterdam: Free University Press.
1992 'Forest management and exploitation in colonial Java, 1677–1897', *Forest and Conservation History* 36-1:4–14.

1992 'Sacred trees and haunted forests; Indonesia, particularly Java, 19th and 20th centuries', in: Ole Brunn and Arne Kalland (eds), *Asian perspectives of nature*, pp. 47–62. Copenhagen: Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies.
1997 'Introducing environmental histories of Indonesia', in: Peter Boomgaard, Freek Colombijn and David Henley (eds), *Paper landscapes: Explorations in the environmental history of Indonesia*, pp. 1–26. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 178.]
1999 'Oriental nature, its friends and its enemies; Conservation of nature in late-colonial Indonesia, 1889–1949', *Environment and History* 5-3:257–93.
2003 'The high sanctuary; Local perceptions of mountains in Indonesia, 1750–2000', in: Peter J.M. Nas, Gerard A. Persoon and Rivke Jaffe (eds), *Framing Indonesian realities; Essays in symbolic anthropology in honour of Reimar Schefold*, pp. 295–314. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 209.]
2004 'The age of buffalo and the dawn of the cattle era in Indonesia, 1500–1850', in: Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds), *Smallholders and stockbreeders; History of foodcrop and livestock farming in Southeast Asia*, pp. 257–82. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 218.]
2005 'The long goodbye? Trends in forest exploitation in the Indonesian archipelago, 1600–2000', in: Peter Boomgaard, David Henley and Manon Osseweijer (eds), *Muddied waters; Historical and comtemporary perspectives on management of forests and fisheries in island Southeast Asia*, pp. 211–34. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 200.]
2007 (ed.) *A world of water; Rain, rivers and seas in Southeast Asian histories*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 240.]

Boomgaard, Peter and Janneke van Dijk
2001 *Het Indië boek*. Zwolle: Waanders.

Booth, Anne
1990 'Foreign trade and domestic development in the colonial economy', in: Anne Booth, W.J. O'Malley and Anna Weidemann (eds), *Indonesian economic history in the Dutch colonial era*, pp. 267–95. New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. [Monograph Series 35, Yale Center for International Area Studies.]
2007 *Colonial legacies; Economic and social development in East and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bosma, Ulbe
2004 'Citizens of empire; Some comparative observations on the evolution of creole nationalism in colonial Indonesia', *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 46-4:656–81.
2005 'The Indo; Class, citizenship and politics in late colonial society', in: Joost Coté and Loes Westerbeek (eds), *Recalling the Indies; Colonial culture and postcolonial identities*, pp. 67–98. Amsterdam: Aksant.

Bosma, Ulbe, Juan Giusti-Cordero and G. Roger Knight (eds)
2007 *Sugarlandia revisited; Sugar and colonialism in Asia and the Americas, 1800 to 1940*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Bosma, Ulbe and Remco Raben
2008 *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies; A history of creolisation and empire, 1500–1920*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. [Research in International Studies Southeast Asia Series 116.] [First published 2003.]

Bossenbroek, Martin
2001 'Geweld als therapie; De roes van de Atjeh-oorlog', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 13–22. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.

Braam, J.J. van
[1840] *Vues de Java*. Amsterdam: Buffa.

Brakel, Koos van
1999 '"For evidently, the fine arts do not thrive in the Indies"; The artistic climate in the Dutch East Indies in the first half of the twentieth century', in: Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren and Jeannette ten Kate, *Pictures from the tropics; Paintings by western artists during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia*, pp. 103–28. Amsterdam: Pictures Publishers, Royal Tropical Institute.
2004 *Charles Sayers 1901–1943; Pioneer painter in the Dutch East Indies*. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.

Breman, Jan
1990a *Labour migration and rural transformation in colonial Asia*. Amsterdam: Free University Press. [Comparative Asian Studes 5.]
1990b *Taming the coolie beast; Plantation society and the colonial order in Southeast Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Breton de Nijs, E. *see* Rob Nieuwenhuys

Brienen, Rebecca Parker
2006 '"To reproduce nature itself as perfectly as possible"; The Brazilian natural history drawings of Albert Eckhout', in: Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of savage paradise: Albert Eckhout, court painter in colonial Dutch Brazil*, pp. 47–72. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Broek, Jan O.M.
1942 *Economic development of the Netherlands Indies*. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Brook, Timothy
2008 *Vermeer's hat; The seventeenth century and the dawn of the global world*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.

Broomhall, Susan
2007 'Imagined domesticities in early modern Dutch dollhouses', *Parergon* 24-2:47–67.
Brown, Colin
2003 *A short history of Indonesia; The unlikely nation?* Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.
Brug, Pieter van der
2000 'Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century', in: Kees van Grijns and Peter J.M. Nas (eds), *Jakarta-Batavia; Sociocultural essays*, pp. 43–74. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 187.]
Bruner, Edward M.
2005 'Taman mini; Self-constructions in an ethnic theme park in Indonesis', in: Edward M. Brunner, *Culture on tour; Ethnographies of travel*, pp. 211–30. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Brusati, Celeste
2005 'Natural artifice and material values in Dutch still life', in: Wayne Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art; Realism reconsidered*, pp. 144–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bryson, Norman
1990 *Looking at the overlooked; Four essays on still life painting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Buruma, Ian
1996 'Louis Couperus; The Eurasians of the Dutch East Indies', in: Ian Buruma, *The missionary and the libertine; Love and war in East and West*, pp. 67–78. London/Boston: Faber and Faber.
Buvelot, Quentin
2004 *Albert Eckhout; A Dutch artist in Brazil*. Zwolle: Waanders, The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis.
Campo, J.N.F.M. à
1992 *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij; Stoomvaart en staatsvorming in de Indonesische archipel, 1888–1914*. Hilversum: Verloren.
Carey, Peter
2001 *The power of prophecy; Prince Dipanagara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785–1855*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 249.]
Casey, Edward S.
2002 'From landskip to landscape', in: Edward S. Casey, *Representing place; Landscape painting and maps*, pp. 3–19. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
Chong, Yu-Chee and Richard Hamblyn
1994 *Views of Indonesia (1848–1857) by Willem von Geusau (1814–1872)*. Singapore: Gallery Editions.
Christie, Jan Wisseman
2004 'The agricultural economies of early Java and Bali', in: Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds), *Smallholders and stockbreeders; History of foodcrop and livestock farming in Southeast Asia*, pp. 47–68. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 218.]
2007 'Water and rice in early Java and Bali', in: Peter Boomgaard (ed.), *A world of water: Rain, rivers and seas in Southeast Asian histories*, pp. 235–58. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 240.]
Clarke, John
1997 '*Mooi Indie* and *Persagi* from the perspective of a modern Asian art', in: Amir Sidharta and Ninsih Purnomo (eds), *Dari mooi Indie hingga Persagi*. Tangerang: Museum Universitas Pelita Harapan.
Clerkx, Lily E. and Wim Wertheim
1991 *Living in Deli; Its society as imagined in colonial fiction*. Amsterdam: VU Press.
Coekelberghs, Denis
1976 *Les peintres Belges à Rome de 1700 à 1830*. Bruxelles/Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome.
Cohn, Bernard S.
1983 'Representing authority in Victorian India', in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The invention of tradition*, pp. 165–210. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cook, Harold J.
2007 *Matters of exchange; Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch golden age*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
Coppel, Charles A.
1999 'The Indonesian Chinese as "foreign orientals" in the Netherlands Indies', in: Timothy Lindsey (ed.), *Indonesian law and society*, pp. 33–41. Sydney: Federation Press.
Cosgrove, Denis
2005 'Tropic and tropicality', in: Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (eds), *Tropical visions in an age of empire*, pp. 197–216. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Couperus, Louis
1982 *De stille kracht*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Veen. [First published 1900.]
Couteau, Jean
1999 *Museum Puri Lukisan*. Ubud: Ratna Wartha Foundation.
Covarrubias, Miguel
1972 *Island of Bali*. With an album of photographs by Rose Covarrubias. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [Oxford in Asia Paperbacks.] [First published 1937.]
Cribb, Robert
1994 'Introduction; The late colonial state in Indonesia', in: Robert Cribb (ed.), *The late colonial state in Indonesia; Political and economic foundations of the Netherlands Indies 1880–1942*, pp. 1–9. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 163.]
2000 *Historical atlas of Indonesia*. Surrey: Curzon Press.

Cronan, William
1995 'The trouble with wilderness; or, getting back to the wrong nature', in: William Cronan (ed.), *Uncommon ground; Toward reinventing nature*, pp. 69–90. New York/London: Norton.
Crosette, Barbara
1998 *The great hill stations of Asia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Dermoût, Maria
1958 *The ten thousand things*. Translated by Hans Koning. Afterword by E.M. Beekman. New York: Simon and Schuster. [Originally published as *De tienduizend dingen*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1955.]
1959 *Yesterday*. Translated by Hans Koningsberger. New York: Simon and Schuster. [Originally published as *Nog pas gisteren*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1951.]
Dodge, Bernadine
2006 'Re-imag(in)ing the past', *Rethinking History* 10-3:345–67.
Doesschate Chu, Petra ten
1997 'Bound by a shared heritage; The interplay between Dutch and French landscape painting during the nineteenth century', in: Wiepke Loos, Robert-Jan de Rijdt and Marjan van Heteren (eds), *On country roads and fields; The depiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape*, pp. 71–94. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Drakard, Jane
1999 *A kingdom of words; Language and power in Sumatra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [South-East Asian Monographs.]
Driver, Felix and Luciana Martins
2005 'Views and visions of the tropical world', in: Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (eds), *Tropical visions in an age of empire*, pp. 3–22. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Duis, Leonie ten and Annelies Haase
1990 *Ouborg; Schilder*. 's-Gravenhage: SDU, Amsterdam: Openbaar Kunstbezit.
Dujardin, Laetitia
2007 *Ethnics and trade; Photography and the colonial exhibitions in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Dumarçay, Jacques
1991 *Borobudur*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
Duuren, David van
1999 'Governors-general and civilians', in: Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren and Jeannette ten Kate, *Pictures from the tropics; Paintings by western artists during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Pictures Publishers/Royal Tropical Institute.
Dijk, Kees van
1997 'Sarongs, jubbahs, and trousers; Appearance as a means of distinction and discrimination', in: Henk Schulte Nordholt (ed.), *Outward appearances; Dressing state and society in Indonesia*, pp. 39–84. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Proceedings 4.]
Edmundson, George
1903 'The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the seventeenth century', *The English Historical Review* 18-72:642–63.
Edwards, Elizabeth (ed.)
1992 *Anthropology and photography 1860–1920*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
Eliraz, Giora
2004 *Islam in Indonesia; Modernism, radicalism, and the Middle East dimension*. Brighton/Portland: Sussex Academic Press.
Elson, R.E.
1986 'Aspects of peasant life in early 19th century Java', in: David P. Chandler and M.C. Ricklefs (eds), *Nineteenth and twentieth century Indonesia; Essays in honour of Professor J.D. Legge*. Clayton, VIC: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 14.]
1994 *Village Java under the cultivation system, 1830–1870*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin. [Southeast Asia Publication Series 25.] [In association with Asian Studies Association of Australia.]
Errington, Shelly
1997 'The cosmic theme park of the Javanese', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 31-1:7–35.
Fabian, Rainer and Hans-Christian Adam
1983 *Masters of early travel photography*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Fan, Laura
2000 'Controversy and change; Nineteenth and early twentieth century landscape paintings in Indonesia and Malaysia', in: Ahmad Mashadi and Keong Ruoh Ling (eds), *Visions and enchantment; Southeast Asian paintings*, pp. 22–7. Singapore: Singapore Art Museum. [In association with Christie's International Singapore.]
Fasseur, Cees
1991 *The politics of colonial exploitation; Java, the Dutch and the cultivation system*. Translated by R.E. Elson and Ary Kraal. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University Press. [Studies on Southeast Asia 8.] [Originally published as *Kultuurstelsel en koloniale baten; De Nederlandse exploitatie van Java 1840–1860*, Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1975.]
1993 *De Indologen; Ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825–1950*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.

1994 'Cornerstone and stumbling block; Racial classification and the late colonial state in Indonesia', in: Robert Cribb (ed.), *The late colonial state in Indonesia; Political and economic foundations of the Netherlands Indies 1880–1942*, pp. 31–56. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 163.]

Feenberg, Anne-Marie

1997 *'Max Havelaar*, An anti-imperialist novel', *Modern Language Notes* 112:817–35.

Flam, Jack and Miriam Deutch (eds)

2003 *Primitivism and twentieth-century art; A documentary history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. [The Documents of Twentieth-Century Art.]

Flanders, Judith

2007 *Consuming passions; Leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain*. London: Harper Perennial.

Fontein, Jan

1991 'Kassian Cephas; A pioneer of Indonesian photography', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 45–51. San Francisco: Friends of Photography.

Foucault, Michel

2002 *The order of things; An archaeology of the human sciences*. London/New York: Routledge. [Originally published as *Les mots et les choses*, Paris: Gallimard, 1966.]

Freeman, Donald B.

1999 'Hill stations or horticulture; Conflicting imperial visions of the Cameron Highlands, Malaysia', *Journal of Historical Geography* 25-1:17–35.

Friend, Theodore

2003 *Indonesian destinies*. Cambridge, MA/ London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Furnivall, J.S.

1939 *Netherlands India; A study of plural economy*. With an introduction by A.C.D. de Graeff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gallop, Annabel Teh

1995 *Early views of Indonesia; Drawings from the British Library*. London: British Library, Jakarta: Yayasan Lontar.

2004 'An Acehnese style of manuscript illumination', *Archipel* 68:193–240.

2005 'Islamic manuscript art of Southeast Asia' in: James Bennett, *Crescent moon; Islamic art and civilisation in Southeast Asia*, pp. 158–83. Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.

Gascoigne, John

2002 *The Enlightenment and the origins of European Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geertz, Hildred

1994 *Images of power; Balinese paintings made for Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

2004 *The life of a Balinese temple; Artistry, imagination, and history in a peasant village*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gilman, Sander L.

1985 'The Hottentot and the prostitute; Toward an iconography of female sexuality', in: Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and pathology; Stereotypes of sexuality, race, and madness*, pp. 76–108. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Glacken, Clarence J.

1969 *Traces on the Rhodian shore; Nature and culture in western thought from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gombrich, E.H.

1987 'Mapping and painting in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century', in: E.H. Gombrich, *Reflections on the history of art; Views and reviews*. Oxford: Phaidon.

Gooding, Janda

2007 'The politics of a panorama: Robert Dale and King George Sound', in: Norman Etherington (ed.), *Mapping colonial conquest; Australia and South Africa*, pp. 66–78. Perth: UWA Press.

Goss, Andrew

2000 'From *Tong-Tong* to tempo doeloe; Eurasian memory work and the bracketing of Dutch colonial history, 1957–1961', *Indonesia* 70:9–36.

Gouda, Frances

1993 'The gendered rhetoric of colonialism and anti-colonialism in twentieth century Indonesia', *Indonesia* 55:1–22.

1995 *Dutch culture overseas; Colonial practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942*. [Amsterdam]: Amsterdam University Press.

Graaf, H.J. de

1972 *Ambon in oude ansichten*. Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek.

Graham-Brown, Sarah

1988 *Images of women; The portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East 1860–1950*. New York: Colunbia University Press.

Grant, Stephen

1995 *Former points of view; Postcards and literary passages from pre-independence Indonesia*. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation.

Green, Nicholas

1990 *The spectacle of nature; Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth century France*. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press.

Greive, J.C.
[1872] *Java. Naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm*. Amsterdam: Buffa.
Groeneboer, Kees
2000 *Van Radja Toek tot Goesti Dertik; Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk als veldlinguïst in negentiende-eeuws Indonesië*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. [Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 63, 2.]
Groeneveld, Anneke
[1989] 'Photography in aid of science', in: *Toekang potret; 100 years of photography in the Dutch East Indies 1839–1939*. Translated by Michael Gibbs, pp. 15–48. Amsterdam: Fragment, Rotterdam: Museum voor Volkenkunde. [Fotografie uit de Collectie van het Museum voor Volkenkunde 3/4.]
1991a 'C.B. Nieuwenhuis' views of Sumatra', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 65–71. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
1991b 'H.M. Neeb; A witness of the Aceh War', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 79–86. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
Grootenboer, Hanneke
2005 *The rhetoric of perspective; Realism and illusionism in seventeenth-century Dutch still-life painting*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Grove, Richard
1995 *Green imperialism; Colonial expansion, tropical island edens and the origins of environmentalism, 1600–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Studies in Environment and History.]
1997 *Ecology, climate and empire; Colonialism and global environmental history, 1400–1940*. Cambridge: White Horse Press.
Guillermo, Alice G.
2000 'Social concerns in Southeast Asian art', in: Ahmad Mashadi and Keong Ruoh Ling (eds), *Visions and enchantment; Southeast Asian paintings*, pp. 44–51. Singapore: Singapore Art Museum. [In association with Christie's International Singapore.]
Haks, Leo and Steven Wachlin
2004 *Indonesia: 500 early postcards*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
Hamblyn, Richard and Yu-Chee Chong
1991 *Java. Naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm*. Introduction by John Bastin. Singapore: Gallery Editions. [First published 1872.]
Hammann, Peter E.M.
1997 *Hendrik Paulides; Painter and narrator*. Singapore: Photo Asia.
Hanna, Willard A.
1978 *Indonesian Banda; Colonialism and its aftermath in the nutmeg islands*. Philadelphia: Insitute for the Study of Human Issues.
Harley, J.B.
1988 'Maps, knowledge and power', in: Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds), *The iconography of landscape; Essays on symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, pp. 277–312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hefner, Robert
1990 *The political economy of mountain Java*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Henley, David
2004 'Rizification revisited; Re-examining the rise of rice in Indonesia, with special reference to Sulawesi', in: Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds), *Smallholders and stockbreeders; History of foodcrop and livestock farming in Southeast Asia*, pp. 107–38. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 218.]
Henley, David and Manon Osseweijer
2005 'Introduction; Forests and fisheries in island Southeast Asia. Histories of natural resource management and mismanagement', in: Peter Boomgaard, David Henley and Manon Osseweijer (eds), *Muddied waters; Historical and contemporary perspectives on management of forests and fisheries in island Southeast Asia*, pp. 1–42. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 200.]
Hesselink, Liesbeth
1992 'Prostitution; A necessary evil, particularly in the colonies. Views on prostitution in the Netherlands Indies', in: Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof (eds), *Indonesian women in focus; Past and present notions*. Second printing, pp. 205–24. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 127.] [First edition 1987.]
Hill, Hal
1988 *Foreign investment and industrialization in Indonesia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press. [East Asian Social Science Monographs.]
Hinzler, Hedi
1991 'Onnes Kurkdjian; Viewmaker and entrepreneur', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 59–63. San Francisco: Friends of Photography.
Hitchcock, Michael and Lucy Norris
1995 *Bali; The imaginary museum. The photographs of Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hochstrasser, Julie Berger
2005 'The conquest of spice and the Dutch colonial imaginary', in: Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (eds), *Colonial botany; Science, commerce, and politics in the early modern world*, pp. 169–86. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
2007 *Still life and trade in the Dutch golden age*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.

Hockney, David
2001 *Secret knowledge; Rediscovering the techniques of the old masters*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Hoffenberg, Peter H.
2001 *An empire on display; English, Indian, and Australian exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Holt, Claire
1967 *Art in Indonesia; Continuities and change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Holttum, R.E.
1970 'The historical significance of botanic gardens in SE Asia', *Taxon* 19-5:707–14.
Homer, William Innes
1998 'Visual culture; A new paradigm', *American Art* 12-1:6–9.
Hoorn, Jeanette
2007 *Australian pastoral; The making of a white landscape*. Fremantle: Fremantle Press.
Houben, Vincent J.H.
1992 'De Indo-aristocratie van Midden Java; De familie Dezentjé', in: Wim Willems (ed.), *Sporen van een Indisch verleden 1600–1942*, pp. 39–50. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
1994 *Kraton and kumpeni; Surakarta and Yogyakarta, 1830–1870*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 164.]
1995 'A torn soul; The Dutch public discussion on the colonial past in 1995', *Indonesia* 63:47–66.
Houben, Vincent J.H., J. Thomas Lindblad et al.
1999 *Coolie labour in colonial Indonesia; A study of labour relations in the Outer Islands, c. 1900–1940*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Ingleson, John
1986 'Prostitution in colonial Java', in: David P. Chandler and M.C. Ricklefs (eds), *Nineteenth and twentieth century Indonesia; Essays in honour of Professor J.D. Legge*, pp. 123–40. Clayton, VIC: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
Israel, Jonathan I.
1989 *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1580–1740*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1998 *The Dutch Republic; Its rise, greatness and fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [First published 1995.]
Jacques, David
2002 'Who knows what a Dutch garden is?', *Garden History* 30-2:114–30.
Jansen, Guido M.C.
1999 '"On the lowest level"; The status of still life in Netherlandish art literature of the seventeenth century', in: Alan Chong and Wouter Kloeck (eds), *Still-life paintings from the Netherlands 1550–1720*, pp. 51–8. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, Zwolle: Waanders.
Jardine, Lisa
2008 *Going Dutch; How England plundered Holland's glory*. New York: HarperCollins.
*Javasche oudheden*
1852–56 *Javasche oudheden; Opgedragen aan Z.K.H. Prins Hendrik der Nederlanden*. 's Hage: Mieling. Three vols.
Jayasena, Rantith M.
2006 'The historical archaeology of Katuwana, a Dutch East India Company fort in Sri Lanka', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 40-1:111–28.
Jennings, Eric T.
2006 *Curing the colonizers; Hydrotherapy, climatology and French colonial spas*. Durham, NC/ London: Duke University Press.
Jepson, Paul and Robert J. Whittaker
2002 'Histories of protected areas; Internationalisation of conservationist values and their adoption in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia)', *Environment and History* 8-2:129–72.
Jessup, Helen Ibbitson
1991 *Court arts of Indonesia*. New York: Asia Society Galleries.
Jong, Erik de
1990 'For profit and ornament; The function and meaning of Dutch garden art in the period of William and Mary, 1650–1702', in: John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch garden in the seventeenth century*, pp. 13–48. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Trustee for Harvard University.
Jongh, Eddy de
1997 'Realism and seeming realism in seventeenth-century Dutch painting', in: Wayne Franits (ed.), *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art; Realism reconsidered*, pp. 21–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1999 'The iconological approach to seventeenth-century Dutch painting', in: Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen (eds), *The golden age of Dutch painting in historical perspective*, pp. 200–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Jordaan, Roy E.
1996 'Candi Prambanan; An updated introduction', in: Roy E. Jordaan (ed.), *In praise of Prambanan; Dutch essays on the Loro Jonggrang temple complex*, pp. 1–115. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Translation Series 26.]
Jussim, Estelle and Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock
1985 *Landscape as photograph*. New Haven, CT/ London: Yale University Press.

Kam, Garrett
1999 'Propaganda and promotion; Beautiful Indies landscape paintings and Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia', in: *Soul ties; The land and her people. Art from Indonesia*, pp. 24–34. Singapore: Singapore Art Museum.
Kate, Jeannette ten
1999 'Painting in a garden of Eden', in: Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren and Jeannette ten Kate, *Pictures from the tropics; Paintings by western artists during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia*, pp. 129–40. Amsterdam: Pictures Publishers, Royal Tropical Institute.
Kathirithamby-Wells, J.
1992 'Sociopolitical structures and the Southeast Asian ecosystem; An historical perspective up to the mid-nineteenth century', in: Ole Brunn and Arne Kalland (eds), *Asian perspectives of nature*, pp. 25–46. Copenhagen: Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies.
Kempers, A.J. Bernet
1996 'Prambanan 1954', in: Roy E. Jordaan (ed.), *In praise of Prambanan; Dutch essays on the Loro Jonggrang temple complex*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Translation Series 26.] [First published 1955.]
Kenny, Judith T.
1995 'Climate, race and imperial authority; The symbolic landscape of the British hill station in India', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85-4:694–714.
Keyes, George S.
1990 *Mirror of empire; Dutch marine art of the seventeenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Klinghoffer, Arthur Jay
2006 *The power of projections; How maps reflect global politics and history*. Westport, CT/London: Praeger.
Klinken, Gerry van
2003 *Minorities, modernity and the emerging nation; Christians in Indonesia, a biographical approach*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 199.]
Knaap, Gerrit
1996 *Shallow waters, rising tide; Shipping and trade in Java around 1775*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 172.]
1999 *Cephas, Yogyakarta; Photography in the service of the sultan*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
Koolhaas-Grosfeld, Eveline
1997 'From the garden to the wilderness; On the perception of nature and landscape in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century', in: Wiepke Loos, Robert-Jan de Rijdt and Marjan van Heteren (eds), *On country roads and fields; The depiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape*, pp. 47–70. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Koolhaas-Grosfeld, Eveline and Sandra de Vries
1999 'Back to a glorious past; Seventeenth-century art as a model for the nineteenth century', in: Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen (eds), *The golden age of Dutch painting in historical perspective*, pp. 69–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kornhauser, Elizabeth Mankin
1998 '"All nature here is new to Art"; Painting and the American landscape 1800–1900', in: Elizabeth Johns, Andrew Sayers and Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *New worlds from old; 19th century Australian and American landscapes*, pp. 71–91. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
Kors, Peter
1991 'Kleingrothe's images of technology; The reassuring view of the Indies', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 53–7. San Francisco: Friends of Photography.
Kraus, Werner
2005 'Raden Saleh's interpretation of the *Arrest of Diponegoro*; An example of Indonesian "proto-nationalist" modernism', *Archipel* 69:259–94.
Krause, Gregor
1926 *Bali; Volk, Land, Tänze, Feste, Tempel*. München: Müller.
Kumar, Ann and John H. McGlynn
1996 'Poetry and worship; Manuscripts from Aceh', in: *Illuminations; The writing traditions of Indonesia: Featuring manuscripts from the National Library of Indonesia*, pp. 79–100. Jakarta: Lontar Foundation, New York: Weatherhill.
Labrousse, Pierre
1993 'The second life of Bung Karno; Analysis of the myth (1978–1981)', *Indonesia* 57:175–96.
Laffan, Michael Francis
2000 '"A watchful eye"; The Meccan plot of 1881 and changing Dutch perceptions of Islam in Indonesia', *Archipel* 63:79–108.
2003 *Islamic nationhood and colonial Indonesia; The umma below the winds*. London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
Lange, H.M.
1847 'Bericht van den vertaler', in: F.V.A. de Stuers, *Gedenkschrift van den oorlog op Java, van 1825 tot 1830*. Uit het Fransch vertaald door H.M. Lange, pp. iii–vii. Amsterdam: Müller. [Originally published as *Mémoires sur la guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 á 1830*, Leyde: Luchtmans, 1833.]

Leeuw, Ronald de
1997 'The depiction of the landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in: Wiepke Loos, Robert-Jan de Rijdt and Marjan van Heteren (eds), *On country roads and fields; The depiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape*, pp. 11–36. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Legêne, Susan
1998 *De bagage van Blomhoff en Van Breugel; Japan, Java, Tripoli en Suriname in de negentiende-eeuwse Nederlandse cultuur van het imperialisme*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.
Leur, J.C. van
1967 *Indonesian trade and society; Essays in Asian social and economic history*. Second edition. The Hague: Van Hoeve. [Selected Studies on Indonesia 1.] [First edition 1955.]
Leur, J.L.W. van
1989 'De Koninklijke Akademie te Delft 1842–1864', in: *De Indische instelling te Delft*, pp. 19–38. Delft: Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara.
Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth
1981 *Ethiek in fragmenten; Vijf studies over koloniaal denken en doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische archipel, 1877–1942*. Utrecht: HES. [PhD thesis, University Leiden.]
1992 'The nyai in colonial Deli; A case of supposed mediation', in: Sita van Bemmelen, Madelon Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Elly Touwen-Bouwsma (eds), *Women and mediation in Indonesia*, pp. 265–80. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 152.]
2000a 'Colonial ambivalencies; European attitudes towards the Javanese household (1900–1942)', in: Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg and Ratna Saptari (eds), *Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social patterns*, pp. 28–44. Richmond: Curzon Press. [NIAS Studies in Asian Tropics 27.]
2000b 'Monogamous marriage and female citizenship in the Dutch East Indies, 1898–1938', in: Maria Grever and Fia Dienteren (eds), *A fatherland for women*, pp. 136–49. Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer IISG, Amsterdam: VVG.
2000c *Women and the colonial state; Essays on gender and modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Loos, Wiepke, Robert-Jan de Rijdt and Marjan van Heteren (eds)
1997 *On country roads and fields; The depiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Loos-Haaxman, J. de
1941 *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia; Landsvoogdsportretten en compagnieschilders*. Leiden: Sijthoff. Two vols.
1968 *Verlaat rapport Indië; Drie eeuwen westerse schilders, tekenaars, grafici, zilversmeden en kunstnijveren in Nederlands-Indië*.'s-Gravenhage: Mouton.
1971 *Dagwerk in Indië; Hommage aan een verstild verleden*. Franeker: Wever.
Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline
1991 'Isidore van Kinsbergen; Photographer of Javanese antiquities', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 37–43. San Francisco: Friends of Photography.
McClintock, Anne
1995 *Imperial leather; Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York/London: Routledge.
McGlynn, John H.
1999 *Language and literature; Indonesian heritage*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
MacIntyre, Martha and Maureen Mackenzie
1992 'Focal length as an analogue of cultural distance', in: Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and photography 1860–1920*, pp. 158–64. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
MacKenzie, John M.
1995 *Orientalism; History, theory and the arts*. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press.
McKusick, James C.
1988 'Nature', in: Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich (eds), *Romanticism in national context*, pp. 413–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McPhee, Colin
2002 *A house in Bali*. Singapore: Periplus. [First published 1947.]
Maddison, Angus
1990 'Dutch colonialism in Indonesia; A comparative perspective', in: Anne Booth, W.J. O'Malley and Anna Weidemann (eds), *Indonesian economic history in the Dutch colonial era*, pp. 322–35. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for International Area Studies, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. [Monograph Series 35.]
Mahapatra, Anirban das
2005 'In their good books', *The Telegraph (Calcutta)*, 22 May: www.telegraphindia.com/1050522/asp/look/story_4755513.asp (accessed 1 December 2010).
Mahieu, Vincent
1995 'Vivere pericolosamente', in: Vincent Mahieu, *The hunt for the heart; Selected tales from the Dutch East Indies*. Translated and introduced by Margaret M. Alibasah, pp. 126–42. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [Oxford in Asia Paperbacks.] [First published in 1955.]

Maloney, Pat
2001 'Savagery and civilization; Early Victorian notions', *New Zealand Journal of History* 35-2: 153–77.
Marius, C.C.P.
1973 *Dutch painters of the nineteenth century*. Woodbridge: Baron Publishing. [First published 1908.]
Maxwell, Anne
2000 *Colonial photography and exhibitions; Representations of the 'native' and the making of European identities*. London/New York: Leicester University Press.
Maxwell, Robyn
1990 *Textiles of Southeast Asia; Tradition, trade and transformation*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
Meijer, Reinder P.
1978 *Literature of the Low Countries*. Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes.
Meijer, Remco
1995 *Oostindisch doof; Het Nederlandse debat over de dekolonisatie van Indonesië*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Ming, Hanneke
1983 'Barracks-concubinage in the Indies, 1887–1920', *Indonesia* 35:65–94.
Mitchell, W.J.T.
1994 *Picture theory*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
1995 'Interdisciplinarity and visual culture', *The Art Bulletin* 77-4:540–4.
Mrázek, Rudolph
2002 *Engineers of happy land; Technology and nationalism in a colony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.]
Multatuli
1929 *Max Havelaar of de koffieveilingen der Nerderlandsche Handelmaatschappy.* Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek. [First published 1860.]
1987 *Max Havelaar, or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading Company*. Translated with notes by Roy Edwards. Introduced by R.P. Meijer. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Nas, Peter J.M. and Pratiwo
2002 'Java and De Groote Postweg, La Grande Route, the Great Mail Road, Jalan Raya Pos', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 158:707–25.
Neka, Sutéja and Garret Kam
2000 *The development of painting in Bali; Selections from the Neka Art Museum*. Second revised edition. Ubud: Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka. [First edition 1989.]
Nicolson, Marjorie Hope
1959 *Mountain gloom and mountain glory; The development of an aesthetics of the infinite*. New York: Norton.
Nieuwenhuys, Rob
1954 *Vergeelde portretten; Uit een Indisch familiealbum*. Amsterdam: Querido.
1961 *Tempo doeloe*. Amsterdam: Querido.
1982 *Komen en blijven*. Amsterdam: Querido.
1988 *Met vreemde ogen*. Amsterdam: Querido.
1998 *Baren en oudgasten*. Tweede herziene druk. Amsterdam: Querido. [First published 1981.]
1999 *Mirror of the Indies; A history of Dutch colonial literature*. Translated by Frans van Rosevelt; edited by E.M. Beekman. Singapore: Periplus. [First edition 1982.] [Originally published as *Oost-Indische spiegel; Wat Nederlandse schrijvers en dichters over Indonesië hebben geschreven, vanaf de eerste jaren der Compagnie tot op heden*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1972.]
Norman, Geraldine
1992 'Art market; From Raj to riches; Rescued from temples and maharaja's palaces, the art treasures of India attracted high bidders at Sotheby's first Delhi auction last week', *Independent*, 18 October: www.independent.co.uk/1558203.ece (accessed 1 December 2010).
Northrup, David
1995 *Indentured labor in the age of imperialism, 1834–1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Studies in Comparative World History.]
Okker, Frank
2008 *Tumult; Het levensverhaal van Madelon Székely-Lulofs*. Amsterdam: Atlas.
O'Malley, William J.
1990 'Plantations 1830–1940; An overview', in: Anne Booth, W.J. O'Malley and Anna Weidemann (eds), *Indonesian economic history in the Dutch colonial era*, pp. 136–70. New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies. [Monograph Series 35, Yale Center for International Area Studies.]
O'Neill, Hugh
2002 'Southeast Asia', in: Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan (eds), *The mosque; History, architectural development and regional diversity*, pp. 225–40. London: Thames and Hudson. [First edition 1994.]
Oostindie, Gert
2008 'Migration and its legacies in the Dutch colonial world', in: Geert Oostindie (ed.), *Dutch colonialism, migration and cultural heritage*, pp. 1–22. Leiden: KITLV Press.
Ouwehand, Liesbeth
2009 *Herinneringen in beeld; Fotoalbums uit Nederlands-Indië*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

*Paintings and statues*
1964 *Paintings and statues from the collection of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia*. Tokyo: Publishing Committee of the Collection of Paintings and Statues of President Sukarno.
Pattynama, Pamela
1998 'Secrets and danger; Interracial sexuality in Louis Couperus' *The hidden force* and Dutch colonial literature around 1900', in: Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (eds), *Domesticating the empire; Race, gender, and family life in French and Dutch colonialism*, pp. 84–107. Charlottesville, VA/London: University of Virginia Press.
Paulides, Hendrik
1940 'Oude en nieuwe kunst op Bali, tegen den achtergrond van het Westen', *Cultureel Indië* 12:169–85.
Peleggi, Maurizio
2005 'Consuming colonial nostalgia; The monumentalisation of historic hotels in urban Southeast Asia', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46-3:255–65.
Peluso, Nancy Lee
1991 'The history of state forest management in colonial Java', *Forest and Conservation History* 35-2:65–75.
Pelzer, Karl J.
1948 *Pioneer settlement in the Asiatic tropics; Studies in land utilization and agricultral colonization in Southeastern Asia*. New York: American Geographical Society. [Special Publication 29.]
1978 *Planter and peasant; Colonial policy and the agrarian struggle in East Sumatra, 1863–1947*. The Hague: Nijhof. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 84.]
Pemberton, John
1994 *On the subject of 'Java'*. Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press.
Peterson, Karin
2001 'Feit en fictie; De verbeelding van de Atjeh-oorlog in de romans van Madelon Székely-Lulofs', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 117–28. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Pollok, Ni
1976 *Ni Pollok, model dari desa kelandis*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
Poortenaar, Jan
1990 *An artist in Java and other islands of Indonesia*. Translated by Horace Shipp. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Originally published as *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, Zutphen: Thieme, 1925.]
Porter, Bernard
2006 *Empire and superempire; Britain, America and the world*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Prest, John
1981 *The Garden of Eden; The botanic garden and the recreation of paradise*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
Prince, Gé
1989 'Dutch economic policy in Indonesia, 1870–1942', in: Angus Maddison and Gé Prince (eds), *Economic growth in Indonesia 1820–1940*, pp. 203–26. Dordrecht: Foris. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 137.]
Pringle, Robert
2004 *A short history of Bali; Indonesia's Hindu realm*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin. [Short History of Asia Series.]
Proschan, Frank
2002 '"Syphilis, opiomania, and pederasty"; Colonial constructions of Vietnamese (and French) social diseases', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11:610–36.
Protschky, Susie
2007 'The President's women; Reflections on historical representations of Indonesian women in the Sukarno art collection'. Paper, Fourteenth Workshop on Southeast Asian Women, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia, 22 June.
2008a 'Nature and identity in colonial Indonesia; Literary constructions of being Dutch in the tropics', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 164:13–37.
2008b 'Seductive landscapes; Gender and European representations of nature in the Dutch East Indies in the late colonial period', *Gender & History* 20-2:372–98.
2009 'The flavour of history; Food, family and subjectivity in two Indo-European women's memoirs', *Journal of the History of the Family* 14:369–85. [Special issue: 'The domestic frontier; European colonialism, nationalism and the family', edited by Matthew Fitzpatrick and Susie Protschky.]
Pyenson, Lewis and Susan Sheets-Pyenson
2000 *Servants of nature; A history of scientific institutions, enterprises and sensibilities*. New York/London: Norton.
Raffles, Thomas Stamford
1965 *The history of Java*. With an introduction by John Bastin. Vol. 2. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [First published 1817].
Ravesteijn, Wim
2007 'Between globalisation and localisation; The case of Dutch civil engineering in Indonesia, 1800–1950', *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 5-1:32–65.
Ravesteijn, Wim and Marie-Louise ten Horn-van Nispen
2007 'Engineering and empire; The creation of infrastructural systems in the Netherlands Indies 1800–1950', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 35-103:273–92.

Reed, Jane Levy (ed.)
1991 *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
Reid, Anthony
1979 'Introduction', in: László Székely, *Tropic fever; The adventures of a planter in Sumatra*. Translated by Marion Saunders, pp. v–xiii. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [Oxford in Asia Paperbacks.]
2005 *An Indonesian frontier; Acehnese and other histories of Sumatra*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
Rhodius, Hans
1964 *Schönheit und Reichtum des Lebens; Walter Spies, Maler und Musiker auf Bali, 1895–1942. Eine Autobiographie in Briefen mit ergänzenden Erinnerungen, gesammelt und hrsg. von Hans Rhodius*. Den Haag: Boucher.
Rhodius, Hans and John Darling
1980 *Walter Spies and Balinese art*. Zutphen: Terra. [Tropenmuseum.]
Ricklefs, M.C.
2001 *A history of modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. Third edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave. [First edition 1981.]
Robinson, Geoffrey
1995 *The dark side of paradise; Political violence in Bali*. Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press. [Asia East by South.]
Rosen, Charles and Henri Zerner
1984 *Romanticism and realism; The mythology of nineteenth century art*. London/Boston: Faber and Faber.
Rupke, Nicholas A.
1988 'Romanticism in the Netherlands', in: Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *Romanticism in national context*, pp. 191–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rutherford, Danilyn Fox
1998 'Trekking to New Guinea; Dutch colonial fantasies of a virgin land, 1900–1942', in: Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (eds), *Domesticating the empire; Race, gender and family life in French and Dutch colonialism*, pp. 255–71. Charlottesville, VA/London: University Press of Virginia.
Saglia, Diego
1988 'Orientalism', in: Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *Romanticism in national context*, pp. 467–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Said, Edward W.
1978 *Orientalism; Western conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon Books.
1993 *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Knopf.
Salverda, Reinier
2005 'The case of the missing empire, or the continuing relevance of Multatuli's novel *Max Havelaar* (1860)', *European Review* 13-1:127–38.
Savage, Victor R.
1984 *Western impressions of nature and landscape in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
Sayers, Andrew
1998 'The shaping of Australian landscape painting', in: Elizabeth Johns, Andrew Sayers and Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, *New worlds from old; Australian and American landscapes*, pp. 53–69. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
Scalliet, Marie-Odette
1995 *Antoine Payen; Peintre des Indes Orientales: Vie et écrits d'un artiste du XIXe siècle (1792–1853)*. Leyde: Research School CNWS. [CNWS Publications 34.] [PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.]
1999 'The East India Company 1600–1800', in: Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren and Jeanette ten Kate, *Pictures from the tropics; Paintings by western artists during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia*, pp. 13–38. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, Wijk en Aalburg: Pictures Publishers. [Originally published as *Indië omlijst; Vier eeuwen schilderkunst in Nederlands-Indië*, Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Wijk en Aalburg: Pictures Publishers, 1998.]
1999 '"Back to nature in the East Indies"', in: Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren and Jeannette ten Kate, Pictures from the tropics; *Paintings by western artists during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia*, pp. 39–89. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, Wijk en Aalburg: Pictures Publishers. [Originally published as *Indië omlijst; Vier eeuwen schilderkunst in Nederlands-Indië*, Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Wijk en Aalburg: Pictures Publishers, 1998.]
2001 'Beelden van Oost-Indië; De collectie Bik in het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49-4:343–79.
2005 'Raden Saleh et les Hollandais; Artiste protégé ou otage politique?', *Archipel* 69:151–258.
Schama, Simon
1991 *The embarrassment of riches; An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*. London: Fontana Press. [First published 1987.]
1995 *Landscape and memory*. London: Fontana Press.
2005 *Patriots and liberators; Revolution in the Netherlands 1780–1813*. London: Harper Perennial. [First published 1977.]

Schellens, Jona
1997 'A note on the Dutch origins of South African colonial architecture', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56-2:204–6.
Schenkhuizen, Marguérite
1993 *Memoirs of an Indo woman; Twentieth century life in the East Indies and abroad*. Edited and translated by Lizelot Stout van Balgooy. Athens, Ohio: University of Ohio Press. [Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series 92.]
Schulte Nordholt, Henk
1986 *Bali: Colonial conceptions and political change 1700–1940; From shifting hierarchies to 'fixed order'*. Rotterdam: Comparative Asian Studies Programme, Faculty of Social Science, Erasmus University.
1996 *The spell of power; A history of Balinese politics 1650–1940*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 170.]
2002 'A geneaology of violence', in: Freek Colombijn and J. Thomas Lindblad (eds), *Roots of violence in Indonesia; Contemporary violence in historical perspective*, pp. 33–61. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 194.]
Sidharta, Amir
1999 'The land and her people in the discourse on Indonesian art', in: *Soul ties; The land and her people. Art from Indonesia*, pp. 10–23. Singapore: Singapore Art Museum.
Slive, Seymour
2001 *Jacob van Ruisdael; A complete catalogue of his paintings, drawings, and etchings*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Sontag, Susan
1977 *On photography*. London: Penguin.
Spencer, J.E. and W.L. Thomas
1948 'The hill stations and summer resorts of the Orient', *Geographical Review* 38-4:637–51.
Spruit, Ruud
1992 *Indonesian impressions; Oriental themes in western painting*. Translated by Karin Beks. Wijk and Aalburg: Pictures Publishers.
1997 *Artists on Bali*. Translated by Robert Lankamp. Amsterdam/Kuala Lumpur: Pepin Press. [Originally published as *Kunstenaars op Bali*, Amsterdam: Pepin Press, 1995.]
Stafford, Barbara Maria
1996 *Good looking; Essays on the virtue of images*. Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press.
Steenbrink, Karel
1993 *Dutch colonialism and Indonesian Islam; Contact and conflicts 1596–1950*. Translated by Jan Steenbrink and Henry Jansen. Amsterdam: Rodopi. [Originally published as *De islam bekeken door koloniale Nederlanders*, Utrecht: Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica, 1993.]
2001 'Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) en Atjeh', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 77–97. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Stepan, Nancy Leys
2001 *Picturing tropical nature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Stoler, Ann Laura
1985 *Capitalism and confrontation in Sumatra's plantation belt, 1870–1979*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
1990 'Making empire respectable; The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th century colonial cultures', in: Jan Breman (ed.), *Imperial monkey business; Racial supremacy in social Darwinist theory and colonial practice*, pp. 35–70. Amsterdam: Free University Press. [CASA Monographs 3.]
1995 *Race and the education of desire; Foucault's History of sexuality and the colonial order of things*. Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press.
2000 'Colonial archives and the arts of governance', *Archival Science* 2:87–109.
2002 *Carnal knowledge and imperial power; Race and the intimate in colonal rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
2009 *Along the archival grain; Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*. Princeton, NJ/Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Stowell, John
1991 'Walter Spies; The artist as photographer', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 97–105. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
Stuers, F.V.A. de
1833 *Mémoires sur la guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 á 1830*. Leyde: Luchtmans.
1847 *Gedenkschrift van de oorlog op Java, van 1825 tot 1830*. Uit het Fransch vertaald door H.M. Lange. Amsterdam: Müller.
Suárez, Thomas
1999 *Early mapping of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Periplus.
Sudjojono, Sindudarsono
2000 *Seni lukis, kesenian dan seniman*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Aksara Indonesia. [First published 1946.]
Suryadinata, Leo
1997 *The culture of the Chinese minority in Indonesia*. Singapore/Kuala Lumpur: Times Books International.
Suryadinata, Leo, Evi Nurvidya Arifin and Aris Ananta
2003 *Indonesia's population; Ethnicity and religion in a changing political landscape*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. [Indonesia's Population Series 1.]

Sutherland, Heather
1980 *The making of a bureaucratic elite; The colonial transformation of the Javanese 'priyayi'*. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books. [Asian Studies Association of Australia, Southeast Asia Publications Series 2.]
2007 'Geography or destiny? The role of water in Southeast Asian history', in: Peter Boomgaard (ed.), *A world of water; Rain, rivers and seas in Southeast Asian histories*, pp. 27–70. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 240.]
Székely-Lulofs, Madelon
1932 *Koelie*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
1933 *Rubber*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
Tagliacozzo, Eric
2003 'Hydrography, technology, coercion; Mapping the sea in Southeast Asian imperialism, 1850–1900', *Archipel* 65:89–107.
2005 *Secret trade, porous borders; Smuggling and states along a Southeast Asian frontier, 1865–1915*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
Taylor, Jean Gelman
1983 *The social world of Batavia; European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
1997a 'Costume and gender in colonial Java, 1800–1940', in: Henk Schulte Nordholt (ed.), *Outward appearances; Dressing state and society in Indonesia*, pp. 85–116. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Proceedings 4.]
1997b 'Official photography, costume and the Indonesian revolution', in: Jean Gelman Taylor (ed.), *Women creating Indonesia; The first fifty years*, pp. 91–126. Clayton, VIC: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 44.]
2003 *Indonesia; Peoples and histories*. New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press.
2006 'Meditations on a portrait from seventeenth-century Batavia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37-1:23–41.
Taylor, Ken
2003 'Cultural landscape as open air museum; Borobudur World Heritage Site and its setting', *Humanities Research* 10-2:51–62.
Teotico, Jack
2008 'Auction fever grips Southeast Asia', *Manila Times*, 31 March: archives.manilatimes.net/national/2008/mar/31/yehey/life/20080331lif4.html (accessed 1 December 2010).
Termorshuizen, Gerard
2001 'De Atjeh-oorlog in de Indische pers', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 23–45. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Terwen-de Loos, J.
1972 *Nederlandse schilders en tekenaars in de Oost, 17de-20ste eeuw*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
Theuns-de Boer, Gerda and Saskia Asser (eds)
2005 *Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821–1905); Fotopionier en theatermaker in Nederlands-Indië*. Zaltbommel: Aprilis, Leiden: KITLV Press, Amsterdam: Huis Marseille.
Tilborgh, Louis van
1984 'Dutch Romanticism; A provincial affair', *Simiolus; Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 14-3/4:179–88.
Tobin, Beth Fowkes
2005 *Colonizing nature; The tropics in British arts and letters 1760–1820*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
*Toekang potret*
[1989] *Toekang potret; 100 years of photography in the Dutch Indies 1839–1939*. Translated by Michael Gibbs. Amsterdam: Fragment, Rotterdam: Museum voor Volkenkunde. [Fotografie uit de Collectie van het Museum voor Volkenkunde 3/4.]
Torgovnick, Marianna
1990 *Gone primitive; Savage intellects, modern lives*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Touwen, Jeroen
2001 *Extremes in the archipelago; Trade and economic development in the Outer Islands of Indonesia, 1900–1942*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 190.]
Trouwborst, Albert
2001 *'In naam der Koningin…* Overwegingen bij een televisieserie', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 129–38. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Ubbens, Jop and Cathinka Huizing
1995 *Adrien Jean Le Mayeur de Merprès, painter-traveller*. Wijk and Aalburg: Pictures.
Umbach, Maiken
2002 'Classicism, Enlightenment and the "Other"; Thoughts on decoding eighteenth-century visual culture', *Art History* 25-3:319–40.
Veur, Paul W. van der
2006 *The lion and the gadfly; Dutch colonialism and the spirit of E.F.E. Douwes Dekker*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 228.]
Vickers, Adrian
1991 'Thilly Weissenborn; The romance of the Indies', in: Jane Levy Reed (ed.), *Toward independence; A century of Indonesia photographed*, pp. 87–96. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
1996 *Bali; A paradise created*. Singapore: Periplus. [First published 1989.]
1999 'Is there landscape in Indonesia?', in: *Soul ties; The land and her people. Art from Indonesia*, pp. 35–43. Singapore: Singapore Art Museum.
2005 *A history of modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Voûte, Caesar and Mark Long
2008 *Borobudur; Pyramid of the cosmic Buddha*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
Vries, Willemien B. de
1990 'The country estate immortalised; Constantijn Huygens' *Hofwijck*', in: John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch garden in the seventeenth century*, pp. 81–98. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. [Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 12.]
Wachlin, Steven
1994 *Woodbury & Page; Photographers Java*. With a contribution by Marianne Fluitsma and Gerrit Knaap. Leiden: KITLV Press.
Warren, James
2008 *Pirates, prostitutes and pullers; Explorations in the ethno- and social history of Southeast Asia*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press.
Weringh, Koos van
2001 'Atjeh in de politieke karikatuur', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 64–76. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Whitten, Tony and Jane Whitten (eds)
1999 *Indonesian heritage; Plants*. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
Williams, Adriana and Yu-Chee Chong
2005 *Covarrubias in Bali*. Singapore: Didier Millet.
Willems, Wim
2003 'No sheltering sky; Migrant identities of Dutch nationals from Indonesia', in: Andrea L. Smith (ed.), *Europe's invisible migrants*, pp. 33–60. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Wit, Augusta de
1989 *Java; Facts and fancies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [First published 1912.]
Wood, Gillen D'Arcy
2001 *The shock of the real; Romanticism and visual culture, 1760–1860*. New York: Palgrave.
Woude, Johan van der
1973 *Maria Dermoût; De vrouw en de schrijfster*. 's-Gravenhage/Rotterdam: Nijgh and Van Ditmar.
Wright, Astri
1994 *Soul, spirit, and mountain; Preoccupations of contemporary Indonesian painters*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
Zandvliet, Kees
2002a *Mapping for money; Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries*. Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International.
2002b *The Dutch encounter with Asia 1600–1950*. Zwolle: Waanders, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
Zonneveld, Peter van
1997 'Majestic, wild or charming? The romantic landscape and Dutch colonial literature, 1750–1850', in: Wiepke Loos, Robert-Jan de Rijdt and Marjan van Heteren (eds), *On country roads and fields; The depiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscape*, pp. 95–114. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.
2001 'Inleiding', in: Liesbeth Dolk (ed.), *Atjeh; De verbeelding van een koloniale oorlog*, pp. 7–12. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
Zook, Darren C.
2006 'Searching for *Max Havelaar*; Multatuli, colonial history, and the confusion of empire', *Modern Language Notes* 121:1169–89.
Zweers, Ineke
[1989] 'Commercial photography', in: *Toekang potret; 100 years of photography in the Dutch Indies 1839–1939*. Translated by Michael Gibbs. pp. 53–119. Amsterdam: Fragment, Rotterdam: Museum voor Volkenkunde. [Fotografie uit de Collectie van het Museum voor Volkenkunde 3/4.]

# LIST OF FIGURES


Figure 1.1 Joseph Paelinck, *King Willem I* (1819). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-C-1460. Oil on canvas, 227×155.5 cm.

Figure 1.2 Unknown artist (formerly attributed to David de Meyne), *Bird's-eye view of Ambon* (1617). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4482. Oil on canvas, 160×265 cm.

Figure 1.3 Jacob Keyser, *Batavia* (1730). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 36D285. Coloured copper engraving, 17×28.5 cm.

Figure 1.4 J.W.B. Wardenaar, *Het Regentschap Probolinggo met desselvs gebergte aan de strand te zien* (circa 1800). Nationaal Archief, The Hague, inv. no. G1-20. Pen and brush, 45×67.5 cm.

Figure 1.5 Abraham Salm, *In het Tengersche Gebergte, Oosthoek van Java* (mid-nineteenth century), from *Java, naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm; op steen gebracht door J.C. Greive, Jr.* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1872). Courtesy KITLV Library, Leiden.

Figure 1.6 Royal Netherlands Indies Army (Bandung Aviation Division), *Aerial view of railroad and rice field*, Priangan, Java (circa 1935). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 10007501. Reproduced negative, 9×12 cm.

Figure 1.7 Department of War, *Aerial view of a sugar factory on Java* (1935). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 10011673. Reproduced negative, 9×12 cm.

Figure 1.8 Pieter Isaacsz, *Allegory of Amsterdam as the centre of the world* (1606–1607). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4947. Oil on panel, 79.4×165 cm.

Figure 1.9 Johannes Everardus van Cloppenburg, *View of Bantam showing an attack on the Portuguese fleet in 1601* (1603). Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SNSM_a2185(01). Print engraving, 46×88.5 cm.

Figure 1.10 Antoine Payen, *The coast of Ambon from Batu Merah* (1836). Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no. 200-30. Painting, 80×110 cm.

Figure 1.11 Woodbury & Page, *Bay of Ambon with a mosque in the right-hand foreground* (1868). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 2743. Photograph, 18×24 cm.

Figure 1.12 Unknown painter (formerly attributed to Albert Eckhout), *East Indies market stall* (mid-seventeenth century). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4070. Oil on canvas, 106×174.5 cm.

Figure 1.13 Jan Daniël Beynon, *Still life with fruits* (before 1945). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 4765-96. School poster, 60×73 cm. (Reproduction of 1872 original painting: private collection, oil on canvas, 112×147 cm.)

Figure 1.14 Isidore van Kinsbergen, *Fruit and game in Batavia* (circa 1865). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 26590. Albumin print, 26.5×23.5 cm.

Figure 1.15 Woodbury & Page, *Still life with tropical fruits, probably in Batavia* (1860–1865). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 3148. Albumin print, 24.5×18.5 cm.

Figure 2.1 Raden Saleh, *Jean Chrétien Baud* (1835). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-3799. Oil on canvas, 119.5×97.5 cm.

Figure 2.2 Raden Saleh, *Johannes graaf van den Bosch* (1836). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-3798. Oil on canvas, 115×97 cm.

Figure 2.3 A.J. Bik, *View of the park, part of the gardens and the palace at Buitenzorg*, from J.J. van Braam, *Vues de Java* (1842). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 47B24. Colour lithograph, 32.5×47.5 cm.

Figure 2.4 Woodbury & Page, *The palace at Buitenzorg* (1872). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 38055, album 64. Albumin print, 19.5×24.5 cm.

Figure 2.5 Charls & Van Es & Co. (Batavia), *A lane in the botanic garden at Buitenzorg* (1900). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 2702. Photograph, 18.5×25.5 cm.

Figure 2.6 Antoine Payen, *The Great Post Road near Rajapolah* (1828). Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no. 200-22. Painting, 165×140 cm.

Figure 2.7 Abraham Salm, *In Sumedang* (mid-nineteenth century), from *Java, naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm; op steen gebracht door J.C. Greive* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1872). Courtesy KITLV Library, Leiden.

Figure 2.8 Raden Saleh, *Herman Willem Daendels* (1838). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-3790. Oil on canvas, 119×98 cm.

Figure 2.9 Woodbury & Page, *Cisokan post on the Great Post Road in the vicinity of Cianjur* (1880). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 4088. Photograph, 19.5×24 cm.

Figure 2.10 Onnes Kurkdjian, *Daendels' Great Post Road, probably at Pasuruan* (circa 1900). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 26968. Photograph, 17×22.5 cm.

Figure 2.11 J. Jongejans, *Duivelsbrug* (circa 1915). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 10007730. Negative, 16.5×21.3 cm.

Figure 3.1 F.V.H.A. de Stuers, *Coup d'oeil sur le terrain de Java*, from *Mémoires sur la guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 á 1830* (Leyde: Luchtmans, 1833). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 47B8. Lithograph, 39×49 cm.

Figure 3.2 F.V.H.A. de Stuers, *Vue de Magellang, sur la riviére Proge et la montagne Sumbing, servant en méme temps de coup d'oeil sur une autre partie du terrain de Java*, from Mémoires sur la guerre de l'Ile de Java de 1825 á 1830 (Leyde: Luchtmans, 1833). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 47B9. Lithograph, 39×49 cm.

Figure 3.3 Willem von Geusau, *Neira en de Vuurberg* (1851). Watercolour, reproduced in Yu-Chee Chong and Richard Hamblyn, *Views of Indonesia (1848–57) by Willem von Geusau (1814–1872)* (Singapore: Gallery Editions, 1994). Courtesy Yu-Chee Chong Fine Art, London.

Figure 3.4 Willem von Geusau, *Het Zonnegat* (circa 1851). Watercolour, reproduced in Yu-Chee Chong and Richard Hamblyn, *Views of Indonesia (1848–57) by Willem von Geusau (1814–1872)* (Singapore: Gallery Editions, 1994). Courtesy Yu-Chee Chong Fine Art, London.

Figure 3.5 Ernest Dezentjé, *Rice field in Java* (1925). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1602-1. Oil on canvas, 143×160 cm.

Figure 3.6 Abraham Salm, *Het land Tjitrap* (mid-nineteenth century), from *Java, naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm; op steen gebracht door J.C. Greive* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1872). Courtesy KITLV Library, Leiden.

Figure 3.7 Abraham Salm, *Gezicht op het Kawische Gebergte en op de tabaks-onderneming* (mid-nineteenth century), from *Java, naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm; op steen gebracht door J.C. Greive* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1872). Courtesy KITLV Library, Leiden.

Figure 3.8 Woodbury & Page, *Waspada tea plantation, Garut* (1874). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 3325. Albumin print, 9×22.5 cm.

Figure 3.9 Unknown photographer, *Tobacco plantation in Deli* (1920). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 18407. Photograph, 9×13.5 cm.

Figure 3.10 Leo Eland, *Rice field in West Java* (before 1939). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1352-1. Oil on canvas, 78.5×140 cm.

Figure 3.11 Hendrik Paulides, *Java* (1924). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 0-684. Pencil and chalk on paper, 170×139 cm.

Figure 3.12 J.W. Meijster, *Tea-picking on an estate of the Nederlandsch-Indisch Land Syndicaat, east coast of Sumatra* (1921–1926). KITLV, Leiden, inv. no. 107689, album 891. Photograph, 12×17 cm.

Figure 4.1 H.C. Cornelius, *The cleaning of Candi Sewu* (1807). British Library (Oriental and India Office Collections), inv. no. WD 957, f.1 (82). Watercolour, 35×47 cm.

Figure 4.2 Antoine Payen, *Borobudur* (1835). Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. no. 200-26. Painting, 80×110 cm.

Figure 4.3 W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, *Besakih* (1937). Stichting Museum Nieuwenkamp, Edam. Pencil, pen and ink with white pigment, 43×36.5 cm.

Figure 4.4 Walter Spies, *Landscape* (1930s). Private collection.

Figure 4.5 L. van Veer, *Bestorming van een kampong of missigit*, from P. Vergers, *De oorlog met Atchin, beschreven en afgebeeld voor het Nederlandsche volk* (Doesborgh: Van Schenk Brill, 1875). Tinted lithograph, 11.7×20.5 cm. Courtesy KITLV Library.

Figure 5.1 *The De Vries family, Batavia* (circa 1915). KITLV, Leiden.

Figure 5.2 Unknown photographer, Untitled (1930s). Horniman Museum, London, inv. no. 397-3460.

Figure 5.3 Unknown photographer, *Women bathing at a river* (circa 1910). KIT Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1006746. Negative, 18×24 cm.

Figure 5.4 Abraham Salm, *De badplaats Wenditt*, from *Java, naar schilderijen en teekeningen van A. Salm; op steen gebracht door J.C. Greive* (Amsterdam: Buffa, 1872). Courtesy KITLV Library, Leiden.

Figure 5.5 Adrien Jean Le Mayeur de Merprès, *Enjoying life* (early twentieth century), from *Paintings and statues from the collection of President Sukarno of the Republic of Indonesia,* Vol. IV (Tokyo: Publishing Committee of Collection of Paintings and Statues of President Sukarno, 1964). Oil on canvas, 150×200 cm. Courtesy Rare Books, Sir Louis Matheson Library, Monash University, Melbourne.

Figure 5.6 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish bath* (1862). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. R.F. 1934. Oil on canvas, 108×110 cm.

Figure 6.1 Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Independence* (31 December 1949). Courtesy Magnum Photos, inv. no. PAR148156.

# INDEX


Abeyasekere, Susan 52, 79
Aceh
– Aceh War 14, 51, 103–4, 107, 118–26
– books about 124
– graves 125
– in lithographs 123–4
– in photography 104, 123, 125
– manuscripts 121
– sultanate 120
– veranda of Mecca 120
– victory monument (Amsterdam) 119
Adams, Ann Jensen 82
Adat 120, 131, 146
Africa 23–4, 29, 99, 107, 113, 122, 139
Agrarian Laws 67, 79
Agrarian reforms 69, 71, 98
Agriculture
– export 10, 12, 21, 26, 49, 54, 84–5, 87–9, 93, 97–8, 100–1
– smallholders 72, 100–1, 149
– subsistence 10, 73, 91–102
Agricultural Information Service 96
Alas region 123
Alfuru 43–4
Alpers, Svetlana 26
Ambon
– Batu Merah 41–2
– Fort Victoria 28
– Kota Ambon 41
– in literature 44
– in paintings 27, 40–2
– in photographs 43
Amsterdam 26, 36–7, 119
Amsterdam Royal Academy for Art 47
Andaya, Leonard 41
Anderson, Benedict 107–8
Angker 11, 109
Anglo-Dutch Treaty (1824) 146
Anthropology 16, 131
Anti-modernism 99, 102
Antiquities 14, 79, 104–11, 125, 153
Arabia 104, 120
Archaeology 16, 32, 105–8,
Architecture 106–7, 111, 115, 122, 125, 138
Arnold, David 11–2
Asahan 70
Asian financial crisis 54
Asian labour, images of 46–7, 91–102, 108–9, 140
Association 68, 121, 146
Atlas of Mutual Heritage 13
Australia, landscape painting in 21, 89, 97, 148
Badung 112
Bait ur-Rahman mosque 122–3
Bali
– Americans in 112–3
– antiquities 104, 107
– as living museum 114, 116
– Balinese painting on 17, 96, 113–4, 116–8
– Central Bali 132
– colonial painting on 15, 17–9, 95, 100, 110–7, 125, 135–7
– colonial photography on 112, 130, 132, 135, 143–4
– cultural imperialism 113–4
– dance 112–4
– Dutch subjugation of 14, 39, 103, 111–3, 119
– economy 136
– elites 117
– exceptionalism 113, 116, 118
– Javanese influence on 116
– Hinduism 103–4, 111, 114, 116–8, 145, 150
– kingship 40, 112
– mountains 117
– music 113
– North Bali 111, 117
– slaves 111

– South Bali 103, 111–2
– women 132, 136–8
Bali Museum (Denpasar) 116
Banda Neira
– paintings of 27, 40–1, 80–1
– photographs of 41
– spice trade 41, 80
Bandung School 152
Bangli 132
Banjir 68
Banyu Biru 66
Banten (Bantam) 25, 37–8, 79, 87–8, 121
Bashkir 116
Batak lands 104, 112, 131
Batavia (Jakarta)
– Arabs (Hadrami) in 122
– early settlement of 28, 52–3, 87–8, 103, 111
– in Dutch images 25, 28–9, 46, 49, 86, 111, 133–4, 142–3
– Governor-General's Palace in 24
– Ommelanden 71, 87
– painters from 47–8
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of the Arts and Sciences) 17, 55
Bataviaasche Kunstkring 83
Batavian Republic 24
Bateson, Gregory 112, 118
Bathing 132–8, 142–3
Batik 40, 95, 106
Batuan 118
Baud, Jean Chrétien 53
Beekman, E.M. 39, 64, 151
Beynon, Jan Daniël 47–8
Bicycle 116
Bik, A.J. 18, 56–8, 81, 88, 110
Bik, Theodoor 57, 81
Bird's-eye view 18, 27, 33–4, 37
Bloembergen, Marieke 107
Blume, C.L. 57
Bodhisattvas 105
Boer War 107
Bogor *See* Buitenzorg
Bonaparte, Louis (King of the Netherlands) 24
Bonaparte, Napoleon 24, 64
Bonnet, Rudolf 95, 113–4, 116, 132–3, 152
Book illustrations 57, 75–8, 123–4
Boomgaard, Peter 11, 90, 108
Boon, Jan *See* Mahieu, Vincent
Borobudur 105–7, 110
Bosch, Johannes graaf van den 53–4
Botanic gardens
– and imperial science 52
– Buitenzorg 51–3, 56, 59, 72
– in colonial art 51–2, 56–7, 73
Braam, J.J. van 57, 88
Brantas River 134
Brazil 24, 29, 47
Breton de Nijs, E. *See* Nieuwenhuys, Rob
Bridges 16, 51, 67–8, 140
British empire 22, 25, 68, 72, 89, 92, 98, 107, 111, 120, 122, 127–8, 137, 145–6, 148
British India 52, 55, 85, 88–9, 91, 107, 120, 123, 148
British Malaya 85, 91, 100–1, 120, 146
Broek, Jan O.M. 41
Brooshooft, P. 68
Bryson, Norman 45, 49
Buddha 105, 110
Buddhism
– colonial images of 22, 104, 111, 123, 125
– in the Indies 103, 105–6, 108, 111
– Mahayana 105
Buitenzorg (Bogor)
– as the seat of colonial power 51, 53–4, 56–8, 72
– botanic garden 51–3, 56, 59, 72
– earthquake at 53
– in colonial art 51–60, 91
– palace 53–4, 56, 58, 63–4, 148, 152
Bupati *See* Regents
Camera obscura 32
Campuan 116
Candi *See* Temples
Cape Town 23
Capellen, Godert van der 45, 61
Carey, Peter 74–5
Cartier-Bresson, Henri 147
Cartography *See* maps
Cephas, Kassian 20, 107
Ceram 44
Ceylon 38, 85
Chaplin, Charlie 113
Charls & Van Es & Co. 58
China 28, 44, 99
Chinese
– Buddhists 104, 111
– coolies 70, 92, 95, 98
– in Batavia 69, 111
– in Penang 111
– lease-holders 69
– merchants 45, 47
– porcelain 44, 112
– shipping 28
Chocolate 90
Christianity 103, 116–7, 121
Christians 103–4, 116
Cianjur 65, 67
Ciliwung River 28, 53, 57, 142
Cirebon 25, 106

Cisokan 65–7
Citrap (Tjitrap) 86, 87
Civil servants 63–4, 81, 85, 90, 113, 121
Class 15, 83–4, 114, 127–31, 137, 144
Climate 12, 46, 98, 128, 138–9, 150
Cloppenburg, Johannes Everardus van 37–8
Cloves 10, 28, 41
Cnoll, Pieter 47, 129
Coastal views 23, 35–6, 38–43, 50, 101
Coeman, Jacob 47, 129
Coffee 10, 85, 90–1
Cokorda Gede Agung Sukawati 116
Collecting 45
Colonial exhibitions 32, 48, 83, 86, 88, 90–1, 95, 106–7, 111, 119, 123
Colonial georgic 92–102
Colonial Institute (Amsterdam) 95
Colonial settlers 69–72
Communism 83, 152
Concubinage 39, 139
Conservation 11, 149
Constitution (of the Netherlands Indies) 123
Contemporary market for colonial art 150–1
Coolies
*See also* Indentured labour
– on Java 60, 64
– on Sumatra 70, 92, 95, 100, 141
Cornelius, H.C. 30, 79, 108–9
Corvée labour 60, 64
Cosgrove, Dennis 12, 35
Costume 91–2, 114, 124, 128–31, 137–8
Couperus, Louis 121–2, 133, 140–1
Covarrubias, Miguel 112, 152
Covarrubias, Rose 112
Coward, Noël 113
Creoles 19, 52
Cultivation system 10, 14, 26, 54, 77, 85, 88–9
Cultural imperialism 113–4
Daendels, Herman Willem 54, 60, 63–6
Dake, C.L., Jr. 152
Daum, P.A. 151
Dayak 131
Decolonization 64, 140, 151
Deforestation 17, 70–1
Delacroix, Eugène 113
Delft 121
Deli 11, 19, 51, 70–2, 91, 93, 96–7
Department of War 34
Depression (The) 136
Dermoût, Maria 34, 44
Deventer, C.Th. van 68
Dezentjé, Ernest 19, 82–4, 87, 93, 152
Diponegoro
– and Java War 75–7, 119
– in colonial art 74, 76, 119
– in Indonesian art 47, 119
– portraits of 74, 76, 78, 119
Dix, Otto 116
Djaja 82
Djajamihardja, D. 82
Dogs 129
Dollhouses 106
Dong Son 105
Douwes Dekker, Eduard *See* Multatuli
Drakard, Jane 39
Drawings 30, 78
Dresden 116
Durga 104, 108
Dutch East India Company *See* Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC)
Dutch Republic 10, 12, 20, 23, 36, 44, 58, 60, 63
East India Company (English) 55
East India House (Amsterdam) 27–8
Eck, Rutger van 116
Eckhout, Albert 24, 47
Eland, Leo 93–4
Electricity 69
Engelhard, Nicolaas 45
Engineers 29–30, 64, 67–8, 108–10
Ensink, G.J. 89
Environmental determinism 46, 98, 100, 102, 128, 139, 141
Environmental history 11
Ernst I (Grand Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) 54
Ernst II (Grand Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) 54
Ethical Policy 51, 64, 68–9, 72, 101, 146
Ethnography 16
Eurasians *See* Indo-Europeans
European-equivalent status 140
Europeans
– in the Indies 18–9, 60, 69–72, 79, 85, 87, 89, 91, 103, 112–6, 128, 140–4
– legal classification of 19, 140
Factories 10, 34, 84, 88–90, 99, 148
Family 129–30
First World War 15, 68, 116
Flores 104
Flowers 44–5, 48–9, 109
Forests 11–2
Fortresses 40–2, 60, 80–1
– Fort Belgica 41, 80–1
– Fort Nassau 80–1
– Fort Victoria 28
Foucault, Michel 82
Franz Joseph (Emperor of Austria-Hungary) 54
French empire 107, 113, 122, 132–3, 137
Friedrich August II (King of Saxony) 54

Fruit 44–50, 95
Game reserves 11
Gamelan 113
Gardens
– botanic 51–60
– Christian 52
– Hindu-Buddhist 52
– in batik motifs 106
– in early-modern Dutch art 55
– in early-modern Dutch poetry 55
– in literature 122
– Islamic 52
– Taman Mini Indonesia 108
Gauguin, Paul 113
Gayo region 118, 123
Geertz, Hildred 118
Gender 15, 96, 114, 127–44
*Georgics*, *The* 97
Germans 18–9, 95–6, 112–4, 116
Germany 99, 116
Geusau, Arnold von 79–80
Geusau, Willem Arnold Alting von 79
Geusau, Willem von 78–82
Golden Age 23–5, 43–4, 46, 50, 145
Gordon, W.J. 57
Gouda, Frances 114
Governors-General
– as an institution 51, 53, 65
– paintings of 14, 53–5, 63–5, 74, 95, 148
Graeff, A.C.D. de 95
Great Post Road (Jalan Raya Pos)
– as source of colonial pride 14, 51, 63, 65, 72
– construction of 60
– in colonial literature 63–4
– in colonial painting 30, 60–3, 65
– in colonial photography 65–7
– in illustrated books 57
Groenewoud, W. van 76
Grove, Richard 11, 52
Gunungan 106
Hadrami Arabs 122
Hague, The 7, 57, 110
Hague School, The 61, 99
Haj 120–1
Haji 119–20, 122, 125
Hamengkubuwono II (Sultan) 74
Hamengkubuwono V (Sultan) 74
Hamengkubuwono VIII (Sultan) 116
Harems 132, 137
Heeren Zeventien (Seventeen Gentlemen) 28
Heldring, O.G.H. 124–5
Hesselaar, Hermanus Theodorus 89
Heutsz, J.B. van 118, 120
Hill stations
– in British India 52, 91, 128
– in Indochina 128
– in the Indies 52, 91, 128
– in Southeast Asia 128
Hinduism
– colonial images of 22, 103–4, 107, 110, 114, 123–6
– in the Indies 103, 105–6, 108–9, 111, 114
Hochstrasser, Julie Berger 148
Hockney, David 82
Hofdicht 55
Hofker, Willem 95, 113, 152
Holle, Karel Frederik 121
Holleman, F. 152
Homoeroticism 128, 132–3, 143
Homosexuality 113, 132–3, 141, 143
*Hongertocht, De* 122–3
Hoorn, Jeanette 89
Horn-van Nispen, Marie-Louise ten 69
Horniman Museum 132
House of Orange 23–4, 63
Houtman, Frederik de 28
Hutton, Barbara 113
I Gusti Nyoman Lempad 116
Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem baron van 53
Imogiri 106
Imperata 71
Impressionism 99, 113
Indentured labour 17, 46, 70, 83, 91–2, 98, 100, 141
*See also* Coolies
India 28, 38, 85, 104, 107, 123, 148
Indian Ocean 106
Indigo 10
Indische Partij 69
Indochina 107, 128, 133
Indo-Europeans 19, 47, 52, 68–9, 83, 127, 140–2, 151
Indo-Europeesch Verbond (Indo-European Union) 68
Indology 121
Indonesia
– independence 147–8, 150–1
– post-colonial relations with the Netherlands 151
– twentieth-century art 82–3, 151–2
– views of colonial art 83, 99, 152
Indo-Saracenic architecture 123
Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique 113, 137–8
International law 111
Irian Jaya *See* West Papua
Isaacsz, Pieter 36–7
Islam
– antiquities 104, 106
– colonial views of 14, 22, 103–4, 114, 120–9
– graves 104, 125
– European conversions to 121
– in literature 121–3

– in Southeast Asia 120
– in the colonized world 120, 122
– in the Indies 103, 106, 118–26, 137, 150
– pan-Islamic movements 122, 124
– prohibition against figural representation 113
– sultanates
  – Aceh 120
  – Central Java 26, 40, 74, 107, 116, 119
Israëls, Isaac 113
Istana Bogor 148, 152
  *See also* Buitenzorg palace
Jakarta *See* Batavia
Jalan Raya Pos *See* Great Post Road
Japanese
– aggression in Southeast Asia 33
– households in Batavia 69
– occupation of the Netherlands Indies 69, 119, 136, 151
Java
– antiquities 79, 104–11, 114, 140
– British occupation of 24, 53, 65, 105, 108
– Buddhism 110–1
– Central Java 26, 30, 32, 39–40, 54, 74, 76, 105–7, 125
– classical period 104–5
– deforestation 71
– East Java 30, 39, 69, 86–7, 89, 97, 111, 125, 135
– forced deliveries on 10
– forests 11, 64
– Hinduism 108–11, 114
– indirect rule of 64, 146
– in literature 17, 34, 64, 72, 77–8
– in lithographs 75–6, 82, 88
– in maps 24–5, 34, 38, 78
– in paintings 28, 30–1, 61–3, 65, 81, 83, 86–9, 95–6, 135
– in photographs 33–4, 131, 148
– Islam 74, 104, 108, 111, 121–2, 137
– Java War 14, 26, 74–9, 119, 123
– kingship 40
– mountains 76, 87–8, 94–6, 110–1
– West Java 33, 52, 61, 63, 86–7, 89–90, 93–4
– women 130–1, 133–5, 137, 144
Jihad 104, 120
Jilbab 137
Jordaan, Roy 105
Junghuhn, Franz Wilhelm 39
Kam, Garret 84
Keramat *See* kramat
Kerkhoff, Maurits van den 134
Kettle drums 105
Kew Letters 24
Keyser, Jacob 28
Kinsbergen, Isidore van 48–9, 106
KIT Tropenmuseum 7, 13, 16, 88, 95
KITLV *See* Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
Klungkung 112
KNIL *See* Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger
Kock, H.M. de 74–8
*Koeli* 140
Kokoschka, Oskar 116
Koningsberger, J.C. 128
Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) 7, 13, 16, 55, 92, 125
Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger (KNIL) 33, 103, 119, 123
  *See also* Military in the Indies
Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM) 35, 112, 116
Kora-kora 28
Kota Raja 123
KPM *See* Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij
Kramat 106
Kraus, Werner 74
Krause, Gregor 132–3
Krueng River 68
Kruseman, Cornelis 47, 54
Kubutambahan 116
Kunstkringen (art circles) 16–7
Kurkdjian, Onnes 66, 68
Laffan, Michael 118, 120
's Lands Plantentuin *See* Buitenzorg botanic garden
Landscape
– and religion 103–5, 109–11, 114, 117–26, 153
– definitions of 12
– georgic themes 44, 49–50, 52, 92–102
– idealization of 20
– in British art 21–2, 55, 58, 88, 92, 97, 99
– in colonial literature 69–72, 140–4
– in Dutch art 20, 82, 99
– in European art 19–21, 73, 78–9, 99
– in French art 21, 99, 113
– pastoral themes 21, 44, 50, 73, 87, 89, 91–2, 135
– sacred themes 40, 105–6, 108–10, 115, 117–8
– urban themes 20, 96, 99
Lange, H.M. 77–8
Lauters, P. 57
Le Mayeur de Merprès, Adrien Jean 19, 95, 112, 135–7, 152
Lebak 64
Leiden 52, 57, 75, 95, 121
Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA) 152
Lenses 32
Lesbianism 132
Leur, J.C. van 35

Linear perspective 20, 82
Linge, Jean-Baptiste de 54
Lithographs 57, 76–7, 88
Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth 114, 131
*Locomotief, De* 68
Lombok 111, 116
Lontar 41, 80–1
Loos-Haaxman, J. de 13, 151
Loro Jonggrang 104–5, 108–9
McClintock, Anne 127, 148
Mace 27, 41, 80
McPhee, Colin 95, 112–4, 116
Madura 10, 26, 89
Magelang 76–8, 108
Mahieu, Vincent 140–3
Maid of Amsterdam 136
Malacca 112, 146
Malang 60, 86, 105, 134–5
Malaysia 123
Maluku *See* Moluccas
Manado 104
Mandala 106
Mander, Karel van 36
Mangkunegoro VIII 131
Maps
– and colonial expansion 23–5, 29, 32–3, 145, 148
– cosmological 105
– in colonial art 24–6, 30, 32, 38, 50, 63, 78, 82
– in Dutch painting 24
– in literature 34
– in photography 33
– in Southeast Asia 105
– seventeenth-century Dutch 25–7, 38
– VOC 24, 26–9, 38
Marine paintings 36
Market scenes 45, 47
Mataram 39
*Max Havelaar, or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company* 10, 63–4, 88, 121
Mead, Margaret 112, 118
Mecca 119, 120–2
Medan 70
Meester Cornelis 122
Meier, Theo 95, 152
Men
– and domesticity 142–3
– as colonists 29–30, 32, 73–4, 78, 139
– as painters 15, 30, 32, 74, 78, 96, 127–8, 134–9
– as viewers 131, 133, 137, 139, 143–4
– bathing 130, 132–3, 142–3
– images of 96, 125, 128–33, 136, 142–3
– sexualization of 14, 127, 130, 140, 142–3
Menoreh 77
Meyne, David de 28
Meijster, J.W. 96–7
Microscopes 32
Middle East 21, 99, 120, 122, 125, 131–2, 136–8
Migration
– to the Indies (from Europe) 72, 79, 98–9, 112
– within the Indies 92, 98
Military
– and British colonial art 21
– conflicts 14, 23, 26, 51, 67, 74–9, 103–4, 107, 117–26
– expansion 16, 51, 68, 107, 111–2, 117–26, 148
– figures 63–4, 75–81
– in the Indies 17, 25, 29, 60, 74, 79, 81–2, 85, 107
*See also* Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger (KNIL)
– massacres 112
– photography 33
– subjugation campaigns 107, 111–2, 119–22
Minahasa 131
Minangkabau 39, 119–20, 131
Ministry of Finance 95
Ministry of the Colonies 32, 79
Mission civilisatrice 68
Missions (Christian) 103–4, 116–7
Mitchell, W.J.T. 14
Modjo-Païd 111
Moluccas (Maluku) 10, 18, 28, 40–3, 80–2, 91, 115
Monarchy (Dutch) 24–6, 54–5, 58, 74, 145, 148
Monuments
– Buddhist 14, 104–5, 125
– Hindu 14, 79, 104, 106, 115, 117–8, 125
– Islamic 14, 43, 106, 122–3, 125
Mooi Indië
– in painting 14–5, 17, 19–20, 73–4, 82–102, 146, 148–9, 152
– in photography 91
– Indonesian views of 82–3, 152
Moscow 116
Mosques 43, 104, 106, 122–5, 138
Mountains
– and kingship 39–40, 106
– and spirituality 39–40, 105–6, 110
– cosmic mountain 105–6
– in colonial art 76–7, 83, 86–8, 91, 94–6, 117, 125, 149
– in European art 39, 42–3, 73, 111
– in Indonesian art 40, 105–6, 110
– in Southeast Asia 39–40, 105, 150
– Mount Agung 40, 98
– Mount Api 41
– Mount Lawu 106
– Mount Merapi 106
– Mount Meru (Semeru) 105–6, 110, 134
– Mount Sumbing 76
– Ural Mountains 116

Mughals 123
Multatuli 10, 14, 17, 63–4, 88, 121
Murnau, F.W. 116
Museum Nasional (Jakarta) 54
Museum Nusantara (Delft) 82
Museum of Ethnology (Leiden) 95
Muslims 22, 54, 74, 103–4, 108, 119–26, 130–1, 137, 139
Nahuys van Burgst, Hubertus Gerardus 77–8
Napoleonic Wars 10, 23–6, 60, 63, 145
Nassau-Siegen, Johan Maurits van 24
Nationalism
– anti-colonial 104, 122, 124, 150
– in the Netherlands 107–8
– Indo-European 69
– Indonesian 69, 74, 83, 121–2, 124, 144, 146, 150
Nature
– and culture 20, 44–6, 98–100, 104, 114, 127, 140–4, 150, 153
– and eroticism 14, 22, 127–8, 137–44, 150, 153
– and gender 127–44
– and race 127–44, 150
– and religion 104, 114–5, 117, 123, 125
– and science 44–5
– definitions of 12
Nederlandsch-Indische Stoomvaart Maatschappij (NISM) 112
Netherlands
– attitudes to decolonization 151
– French occupation of 10, 24, 60, 63, 145
Netherlands Antilles 146
New Guinea 68, 104
Ni Pollok 136, 152
Nieuwenhuis, C.B. 122–3
Nieuwenhuys, Rob 83, 125, 151
Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J. 113, 115–8
Niskala 118
NISM *See* Nederlandsch-Indische Stoomvaart Maatschappij
North Africa 21, 99, 120, 125, 131–3, 136–8
North America 11, 21, 116, 148
Nusa Kambangan 81
Nutmeg 10, 27, 41, 80
Ocean of milk 105
Oil 41
Opium 112
Orang Datang 81
Orchids 49
Orient (The) 11, 21–2, 99, 132, 138
Orientalism 11, 12, 21, 54, 99–100, 111, 113, 125, 136–8, 150
Ouborg, Pieter 20–1, 99
Outer Provinces 26, 29, 41, 51, 67–8, 71, 73, 85
Pacific (The) 113
Pacific War 118, 151
Padang 40, 67, 111
Padri War 67, 119
Padris 119, 120
Paedophilia 114, 132
Paelinck, Joseph 24–6, 63, 65, 148
Painters
– as a profession 15, 17, 21, 29, 79–80, 85, 95, 99, 102, 113–4, 135, 148–9
– gender of 15, 29, 74, 78, 96–7, 114, 127–8, 135
Painting
– animals in 54, 57
– as distinct from photography 101, 131, 134, 146, 148
– by colonial artists 14–5, 17–20, 24–7, 30, 33–4, 41–3, 45–7, 61–3, 73–104, 111–8, 134–9
– by Indonesian artists 47, 53–5, 64, 74, 82–3, 149
– conversation pieces 55, 58
– hunting scenes 54
– in the Netherlands 32, 54, 57, 149
– in the VOC period 28, 37–8, 47, 50
– Indonesian patrons of 116, 150
– landscapes 12, 14, 20, 26–8, 30–1, 33–4, 36, 42–3, 54, 56–7, 61–3, 72, 80–1, 86–102, 111–8, 134–7
– pastoral themes 73, 83, 87–9, 91–2, 135
– plantations 21, 54, 72–4, 101
– portraits 24–5, 53–5, 63–5, 74–5, 78, 82, 119, 148
– rice fields in 83–4, 92–101
– still lifes 18, 23, 43–50, 148
Pakubuwono IX 131
Panoramas 20–1, 55, 73–83, 85–6, 88–9, 92, 94, 102
Parangtritis 106
Pasanggrahan 66
Pasuruan 66, 88
Paulides, Hendrik 18, 95–6, 113–4
Payen, Antoine 18, 41–2, 54, 61–63, 79, 81, 110
Peasants 15, 26, 54, 71, 73, 85, 87–8, 92–102
Pedir 119
Pekalongan 125
Peluso, Nancy Lee 11
Pelzer, Karl J. 71
Pemberton, John 106, 108
Pendopo 138
Penghulu 125
Perkenieren 81
Perron, E. du 151
Pers, Auguste van 111
Persatuan Ahli-ahli Gambar Indonesia (Persagi) 83
Petroleum 41
Philippines 85
Photographs
– and anthropology 16
– and archaeology 16, 32, 106

– and ethnography 16, 131
– and mapping 33
– and plantations 16–7, 72, 89–94, 96–7, 131
– and science 16–7
– and war 103–4, 123, 125
– animals in 129
– as distinct from paintings 101, 131, 146, 148
– by colonial makers 33–4, 43, 48, 58–9, 65–6, 111, 123, 128–32, 144, 151
– by Indonesian makers 20, 107
– digitization of 13
– executions in 92
– Indonesians in 96, 129–33, 144, 147–8
– Indonesian patrons of 107, 129–30
– landscape in 15–6, 33–4, 43, 50, 58–9, 65–7, 72, 89–93, 111
– pornographic 131
– portraits 129–31, 147
– still lifes 48
Pictorial turn 13
Pieneman, Nicolaas 47, 74, 119
Piracy 81
Pita Maha 16–7, 116
Plantations
– and Indies economy 51, 80, 84–5, 88–9, 99–100
– images of 12, 50, 55, 83–101, 149, 152
– in literature 69–72, 140–1
– paintings of 21, 72–4, 85, 87–9, 101
– photographs of 16–7, 89–94, 96, 148
– violence on 92
Planters 12, 32, 70–1, 73, 79-81, 85–8, 91, 95, 98, 100–2, 139, 141
Polygamy 123, 139
Poortenaar, Jan 100, 111
Porcelain 44, 111–2
Porcellis, Jan 36
Porno-tropics 127, 144
Porter, Bernard 68
Ports 35, 36
Portuguese 26, 37–8, 41, 111–2
Postcards 16, 18, 35, 91, 106–7, 140
Prambanan 30, 79, 104–5, 107–8
Priangan 33, 66, 98
Primitivism 113, 116
Prisons 74, 81, 114
Probolinggo 30
Progo River 76–7
Prostitution 131, 139
Puputan 112, 116
Pura Besakih 40, 115
Pura Maduwe 116
Qu'ran 119
Race 15, 69, 91, 114, 126–44, 148
Raden Sjarief Bustaman Saleh 18–20, 47, 53–5, 63–5, 74, 119
Raffles, Thomas Stamford 24, 105, 108–10
Railways 33, 51, 67, 69–70, 72
Rajapolah 61
Rajas 112
Ramadan 77
Ratu adil 74
Ratu Kidul 106
Ravesteijn, Wim 69
Reckleben, J.F.C. 57
Regents (Bupati) 121, 130
Reigers, Th. 57
Reinwardt, Caspar Georg Carl 52, 81
Reinwardt expeditions 41, 45, 81, 110
Religion
– and art 103–26
– and family life 123
– and politics 117–26
– and war 120
Roads 60–9, 72–3
Robinson, Geoffrey 112
Robinson, Tjalie *See* Mahieu, Vincent
Romanticism
– in Dutch painting 54, 99, 111
– in European art 39, 99, 110, 115, 117
– in European literature 64–5, 99
– in Indies painting 54, 63, 65, 74, 110, 113–4
– in the Netherlands 99, 110
Royalty 24–6, 40, 54, 63, 65, 68, 74, 79, 105, 112, 118–20, 130
Rubber 41, 70, 91–2, 100–1, 140–1
*Rubber* (the novel) 69–71, 139
Ruins 104, 110–1
Ruisdael, Jacob van 111
Rumphius, Georg Everhard 41
Russia 116
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 7, 88, 112
Said, Edward W. 64, 99, 112
Saint Helena 112
Sakti 118
Salm, Abraham 18, 31–2, 60–3, 86–9, 135
Sanjaya dynasty 105–6
Sanur 135
Sarekat Islam 122
Sarung 95, 128–9
Sayers, Charles 20–1, 152
Schaefer, A. 106
Schelfhout, Andreas 54
Schenkhuizen, Marguerite 68
Second Boer War 107
Second World War 91
Semarang 16, 30, 68
Servants 47, 114, 122, 129–30
Sexuality 113, 128

Shailendra dynasty 105
Shaivism 105–6
Sharia 119–20
Shells 44–5
Shifting cultivation 71
Ships
– Asian 28–9, 40, 95
– Dutch East Indiamen 29, 35–6
– European 111–2
– steamships 35, 99, 112
– views from 35–9
Shipwrecks 36, 111–2
Shiva 104–5, 108
Sieburgh, Hubertus Nicolaas 47, 79, 110–1
Sikala 118
Singapore 35, 54, 121, 150
Slavery 46, 98, 111
Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan 68, 121
Soeharto 108, 152
Soekarno 137, 142, 151–2
Sonnega, A. 152
Sontag, Susan 101
South Africa 23, 29, 107
Spanish 26, 82, 111
Spice islands *See* Moluccas
Spice trade 41, 80–2, 111, 115
Spies, Walter 18–9, 95–6, 98, 112–4, 116–8, 132–3
Stadial theories of civilization 20, 98
Steenbrink, Karel 120
Still lifes
– and botanical art 45, 49
– and collecting 45
– and tropical abundance 49–50
– georgic themes in 44, 49–50, 97
– in colonial painting 18, 23–4, 43–50, 145
– in colonial photography 48
– in early-modern Dutch painting 24, 44–50, 148
– pronk-stilleven 44, 48–9
– with flowers 48–50
– with fruits 45–50
Stoler, Ann Laura 114, 127
Stuers, F.V.H.A. 14, 75–9, 81–2, 123
Suárez, Thomas 35, 105
Sudjojono, Sindudarsono 20, 83–4, 92, 99
Suez Canal 35, 120
Sugar 10, 34, 83, 85, 89–91
Sulawesi 74, 104
Sultans 74, 116, 119, 131
Sumatra
– Christianity 104
– deforestation 70–1
– Dutch expansion in 10, 18, 39, 51, 119–26, 145–6
– East Sumatra 10–1, 19, 69–71, 91–2, 95–7, 100, 141
*See also* Deli
– economy 10–1, 43, 70, 100–1
– in literature 17, 69–72, 139–41
– in maps 38
– Islam 104, 119–23
– plantations 11, 19, 52, 70–2, 92–3, 96–7, 100–1
– wars 119–26
Sumedang 62
Sundanese 52, 88, 121, 131
Surabaya 16, 66, 69–70
Suriname 146
Suriosubroto, Abdullah 82
Swidden cultivation *See* Shifting cultivation
Székely, Lászlo 70
Székely-Lulofs, Madelon 17, 69–70, 122–3, 139–41
Tabanan 112
Taman arum 106
Taman Mini Indonesia 108
Tartars 116
Taxation 112
Taylor, Jean Gelman 52
Tea 10, 85, 88–90, 92, 96–7
Temples 30, 40, 104–11, 115–8
– Candi Mendut 111
– Candi Sari 107
– Candi Sewu 107–10
Tempo doeloe 151
Tenget 118
Tengger highlands 111
Ternate 41
Thailand 85
*The hidden force* 121–2, 133, 141
Tidore 41
Tjitrap *See* Citrap
*Tjoet Nja Din* 123
Tobacco 10, 71, 86–9, 92–3
Tobin, Beth Fowkes 45, 55, 89
Tombs 40, 106, 125
*Tong-Tong* 143
Toraja 104
Tourism 16, 66, 116, 131, 135, 151
Trains 68, 70, 99, 122, 128, 130–1
Tropenmuseum *See* KIT Tropenmuseum
Tropicality
– and religion 104, 110
– in art 21–2, 73, 99
– in European thought 11–2, 35, 104, 150
– tropical pastoral 89, 91–2
Tropics
– abundance in 43–50, 98–9
– as distinct from the Orient 21–2, 99, 125, 132, 136–8, 144
– environmental determinism 46, 98, 100, 128, 139, 141

– European views of 11–2, 20–1, 35, 40, 43–50, 96, 98–100, 127–44
– feminization of 14, 96, 127, 139
– porno-tropics 127
– racialization of 139–44, 150
– sexualization of 96, 127, 138–44, 150
Turkey 120
Tuuk, Herman Neubronner van der 112–4
Ubud 95, 114, 116, 132, 136
Ulama 120–1
Ulèëbelang 121
Umma 120
Valentijn, François 41
Veer, L. van 123–4
Velázquez, Diego 82
Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) 10–1, 14, 23–5, 28–9, 35, 41, 45, 50, 53, 60, 72, 74, 79, 101, 120, 145
Vergers, P. 124
Vickers, Adrian 69, 98, 112, 116, 134
Vietnam 105
Vingboons, Johannes 27
Virgil 97
Visual culture
– and consumption 17
– and history 13, 16–8, 145
– and landscape 16, 21, 29, 35, 41, 65, 97, 103, 110, 115, 125, 127, 145, 149–50
– colonial 18–22, 29, 41, 50, 52, 65, 97, 102–3, 118, 125, 127, 131–2, 140, 143–5, 148–50, 152
– in Europe 20, 52, 97, 110, 115
– in Indonesia 152
– in the Netherlands 25, 60, 99, 106, 129
– methods 16
– post-colonial 150, 152
VOC *See* Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
Volcanoes 40, 73, 80–1, 134
Voyeurism 14, 132–5, 137, 143–4, 150
Vries, De (Family) 129
Wardenaar, J.W.B 30, 79, 108
Wahhabism 119, 122
Watercolours 29, 78–81, 108–9
Wayang 106
Weissenborn, Thilly 15
Weissenbruch, J. 111
West India Company (WIC) 27
West Papua (Irian Jaya) 69
White man's burden 68
WIC *See* West India Company
Wilhelmina (Queen of the Netherlands) 68
Willem I (King of the Netherlands) 24–5, 54, 63, 65, 79, 148
Willem II (King of the Netherlands) 54
Willem III (King of the Netherlands) 54, 74
Willem III (Stadhouder, King of England and Ireland) 25
Willem V (Stadhouder) 24
Wirodiredjo 82
Wit, Augusta de 111, 131, 134
Women
– Asian
– and domesticity 130
– as wives 19, 140
– as workers 92, 96–7, 131, 141
– elites 129–31, 137, 144
– indentured labourers 141
– in paintings 134–8, 152
– in photographs 97, 129–33, 135, 137
– in literature 134, 139–43
– Muslims 130–1, 137
– royalty 130
– rural 131, 137
– sexualization of 14, 96, 127–8, 131–41, 144
– bathing 132–8
– European
– and domesticity 129
– as viewers 134
– as writers 140
– elites 106, 128–9, 131
– in literature 139–43
– in photography 128–9
– sexuality 139, 141–3
Woodbury & Page 16, 18–9, 41–4, 48–9, 58, 65–7, 90, 106–7, 111
Yogyakarta 74, 104, 106–7, 116
Zandvliet, Kees 25
Zoete, Beryl de 95, 112, 132

KITLV

*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
*Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

KITLV

*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
*Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*